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THE DIARY

OF

WILLIAM HEDGES, Esq.

(Illustrative Extracts from Records.)

No. LXXV.

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THE DIARY

OF

WILLIAM HEDGES, ESQ.

(AFTERWARDS SIR WILLIAM HEDGES),

DURING HIS AGENCY IN BENGAL;

AS WELL AS ON HIS VOYAGE OUT AND RETURN OVERLAND

(1681-1687).

ILLUSTRATED BY COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM UNPUBLISHED
RECORDS, ETC.,
BY
COLONEL HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING NOTICES REGARDING SIR WILLIAM HEDGES,
DOCUMENTARY MEMOIRS OF JOB CHARNOCK,
AND OTHER
BIOGRAPHICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE
TIME IN INDIA.

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PREFACE

TO

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE DIARY OF SIR WILLIAM HEDGES.

In the Preface to the First Volume of this collection, containing the *Diary* itself, which was issued in 1887, I have explained how that work came into the hands of the Society, and how the editing of it eventually devolved upon my shoulders.

In the process of seeking further information regarding the history of WILLIAM HEDGES,[1] and of numerous persons mentioned in his *Diary*, I was led to make rather a wide and protracted search in the records of the India Office, as well as elsewhere. The result has been the addition of two volumes of illustrations to the one of *Diary*. As to which element represents the bread, and which the sack, I will not venture an opinion; but unquestionably a number of the extracts now furnished are of considerable interest.

In one section (Part II) I have collected a variety of original documents concerning JOB CHARNOCK, the Founder of Calcutta, most of which I believe to be now published for the first time; and the same may be said of the details given in Part III, regarding other individuals of less note. Among these may be specified Sir JOHN GAYER, Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM, Sir STREYNSHAM MASTER, and Sir EDWARD LITTLETON, respecting none

[1] For several important items regarding Hedges and his family, and for indication of some of the sources to be examined for others, I have to thank the active and most intelligent search at the British Museum Library made by my daughter, Amy Frances Yule. I have also to thank the Vicar of Stratton St. Margaret (the Revd. S. J. Crawhall) for his kindness in transcribing inscriptions, etc., at that place, which I have also myself since visited for further search.

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of whom will anything be found in existing biographical dictionaries, whatever may be the case hereafter.

In Part IV have been assembled a variety of odds and ends which attracted my own interest whilst searching the records for more relevant matter. These complete Vol. II.

Vol. III mainly consists of (Part V) documents and extracts illustrating the career of THOMAS PITT, practically the founder of that illustrious family which produced, in two successive generations, two of the greatest of English statesmen. He figures repeatedly in the *Diary* of HEDGES as a resolute and defiant "interloper"; and it was only with surprise and by slow degrees that I was enabled to trace and establish the identity of this swaggering blade with that famous Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, who figures in peerages, pedigrees, and books on precious stones, in that dignified character only, and whose antecedent career seems till now to have remained totally unknown. This "Documentary History of THOMAS PITT" appears to myself to be the most valuable part of the present collection.

Part VI relates to the early history of the Company's trade and settlements in BENGAL (or "THE BAY", as it was commonly styled in the 17th century). That history has been hitherto decidedly obscure, and in some respects mistaken. I have not been able to scatter all the obscurity, nor to substitute authoritative statements for all the doubtful ones; but substantial contributions towards these results are made.

Part VII enters into discussions regarding the oldest charts and topographical details of the HÚGLÍ River. In this section I have been greatly helped by the valuable studies and experience of Mr. BARLOW, through whom we obtained the MS. of the *Diary*.[1]

[1] In the Preface to Vol. I, I too hastily expressed my belief that the MS. must have belonged at one time to the INDIA HOUSE archives, and have been illegitimately disposed of. On further consideration I have come greatly to doubt this—or rather to disbelieve it altogether. Considering the way in which Sir W. HEDGES parted with the Company, there is no likelihood that he should have communicated the *Diary* to them; and, indeed, the fact of its extending in isolated entries down to 1688, a year later than his return from India, and much longer since his dismissal, would be quite inconsistent with such a supposition (see *Diary*, pp. 147-8, and p. 249).

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In developing the history of T. PITT I was fortunate in finding his Indian letter-books among the Addl. MSS. in the British Museum Library. Without the help of these the notices of his life during his government would have been but meagre.

I need hardly say that these extracts, especially from the India Records, have attained a bulk, and demanded an amount of time (spread over available hours for several years) which has vastly exceeded anything that was contemplated when I found the office of editor thrust upon me. But I trust at least that their publication will justify itself in the eyes of our members by the novelty and interest of the collection as a whole.

Indeed, it seems to myself that these old records are like the cauldrons at Camacho's wedding; one has only to plunge in a ladle at random to scoop out something valuable or curious.[1] It has also been a sensible pleasure to me in this search to meet with the autographs of a large proportion of the persons mentioned by Sir W. Hedges; and the facsimiles that have been prepared of many of these will be felt perhaps by others, as they have been felt by me, to bring us into closer contact with the personages of whom we read.

I must not conclude this preface without expressing my gratitude to the Revd. G. STREYNSHAM MASTER, a lineal descendant of Sir STREYNSHAM MASTER, Governor of Fort St. George (1677-8), for the kind liberality with which he has assisted me, not only by giving me a copy of his excellent unpublished work, *Notices of the Family of Master*, etc. (1874), but by lending me two volumes of family letters and other papers of great interest, and a portrait of Sir STREYNSHAM, from which the frontispiece of this volume has been derived.[2]

[1] "'I see no ladle', answered Sancho. 'Stay', quoth the cook, 'Heaven save me, what a helpless varlet!' So saying, he laid hold of a kettle, and sowsing it into one of the half-jars, he fished out three pullets and a couple of geese, and said to Sancho: 'Eat, friend, and make a breakfast of this scum, to stay your stomach till dinner-time.'" (*Don Quixote*, Part II, ch. XX.)

[2] It may be observed that though there were no orders of the *Star of India*, or of the *Indian Empire* in those days, knighthood seems to have been rather profusely bestowed on servants of the Company. Of those whose acquaintance we make in these volumes the following gentlemen received this honour: GEORGE OXINDEN (1661); EDWARD WINTER (1661-2); JEREMY

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I have also to render cordial thanks to Lord STANHOPE for allowing KNELLER's portrait of Governor Pitt at Chevening to be photographed on my behalf. For this favour I am indebted to the intervention of my valued friend GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., C.B., Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, and, indeed, the photographic negative itself has been his gift. The portrait, which forms the frontispiece to Vol. III., is the only one of T. PITT that has ever been published.[1] Lady STANHOPE has also been kind enough to furnish some notes and memoranda regarding the history of the Pitt Diamond.

SAMBROOKE (1681-2); THOMAS GRANTHAM (1682-3); MATTHIAS VINCENT (1684-5); JOHN CHILD (Baronet, 1684-5); WILLIAM HEDGES (1688); JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH (1691-2); JOHN GAYER (1692-3); EDMUND HARRISON (1698); STREYNSHAM MASTER (1698); EDWARD LITTLETON (1698-9); CHARLES EYRE (1699); RICHARD GOUGH (1714-15); THOMAS FREDERICK (1721); fifteen in all, and probably one or two may have escaped me.

[1] Whilst this is passing through the press, I learn from Mr. Scharf that he has recently identified at Chevening a portrait of Pitt's wife, of which I may perhaps also, through his kindness, be able to present a copy in Vol. III.

Nota bene:

In these illustrations, I.O. stands for "India Office".

O.C. ("Original Correspondence") is the designation of a large collection, in the India Office, of the letters from India, extending from the early part of the 17th century to 1709, which were bound up in 72 volumes, apparently about 1830-31. The letters are numbered, and arranged chronologically, but in the early volumes they are excessively sparse, and the whole series is full of gaps.

The *Court Books* quoted contain very brief minutes of the matters that came before the "Court of Committees" of the E. I. Co. The *Letter Books* contain copies of the public letters and instructions written by the Court to their presidencies, factories, and ship-commanders, etc. They form one of the fullest and most consecutive sources of information.

"B.M. Addl. MSS." indicates the so-called Additional MSS. in the British Museum Library.

These have been the chief sources of the documents used; but the Will Office at Somerset House, the Record Office, and the Heralds' Office, have also been visited, all of them several times.

H. YULE.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

PART I.

P. xi. Under the heading "Servants' Wages", "8 Gualoes", which I have interpreted "Cowherds". This is the proper meaning of the word. But I find it was in those days a common title for palankin-bearers, who probably in some parts belonged to the *Gwálá* or cowherd caste. The author of an anonymous MS. of about 1680, belonging to Mr. Eliot Howard, which I have been allowed to see, says: "Vpon a journey they (the bearers) goe 8 for the relieveing of one another, they are called *Gwalas*, and will carry one 40 miles per diem wth: noe great difficulty."

Under the same heading, "Hands of Musuk" must refer, I think, to the water-carriers, bringing water in a "mussack" (*mashak*) or goat-skin, but I cannot explain the idiom.

P. xxxiv. Last line: "In agro Belgarum." The territory of the *Belgæ* extended from the Bristol Channel to Winchester.

PART II.

P. xlv. Line 4. It is no longer true, since the issue of Vol. x. of the *National Dictionary of Biography*, that Job Charnock figures in no Biographical Dictionary.

P. xlvii. Note. *Singee*. The identification of this place will be found at p. ccxli, *note* 1.

P. lv. End of first paragraph. *Patellas* and *Booras* are described, with rough drawings, in the MS. of c. 1680 quoted above:

"The *Patella*. The boats that come down from Pattana with Saltpeeter or other goods, built of an Exceeding Strength, and are very flatt and burthensome" (also see *Rural Life in Bengal*, p. 6). The *Boora* . . . "being a very floaty light boat, rowinge with 20 to 30 Owars, these carry Salt Peeter and other Goods from Hugly downewards, and some trade to Dacca with Salt; they also serve for tow boats for ye Ships bound up or downe ye River."

P. lx. Near bottom. "Mullick *Bourcoordar*." This name or title is, I apprehend, *Barkhwurdar*, "Prosperous."

P. lxxxviii. Note 3. Walter Hamilton, the author of that most valuable of the older Gazetteers, *A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan* (1820), I find, gives the correct year of Charnock's death.

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P. xci. Note 3. "Sea Crowle" must have been *Sankrál*, below the present Botanic Garden (see Vol. III., p. ccxv).

P. xcvii. Line 12. "*Gheretty Garden.*" On the position of this, below Chandernagore, see Vol. III., pp. ccxvii-ccxviii.

P. xcvii. Line 13. *Surman's* Garden was on the left bank adjoining Kidderpoor; see Vol. III., p. ccxv.

PART III.

For additional notices generally of persons treated under this section, see also *Index* under the respective names.

P. cvii. Regarding BRADDYLL, see also pp. ccxcv-ccxcvi, and many other brief notices in PITT's letters, under BRADDYLL in Index.

P. cxii. For more about CATCHPOOLE see Papers as to Pulo Condore (pp. cccxxxviii *seqq.*), and in Part V (*Index*).

P. cxx. Note. The reference should be to pp. cxxxviii-cxxxix.

P. cxxii. For further notice of DAVIES see pp. cccxcvi-cccxcvii, and also Vol. III., p. cxciv.

P. cxxviii. Note. To call "cousin ESSEX" Pitt's "younger" daughter is erroneous (see Vol. III., p. clix).

Pp. cxxx-xxxii. Respecting Chaplain EVANS and his eventual episcopate, see pp. ccxcvii-xcix, and Vol. III., pp. lxxix and lxxxix.

P. cxxixv. Note 2. EYRE quitted the Bengal Agency for England 1st Feby. 1698-99; returned as Sir Charles and President of Fort William, 26th May 1700; and left finally 7th January 1700-1 (Calcutta Diaries, indicated to me by Mr. F. C. DANVERS, of the India Office).

P. cxxxix. "The *Gonsway.*" This was the corrupted name of the ship the capture of which by AVORY made so much trouble for the English.

P. cxl. 2nd paragraph, 7th line from end. For "1508-9" read "1708-9."

P. clx. For more on GOLDSBOROUGH see p. ccxcix and references there.

P. clxvii. "Carmania Wool," *i.e.* wool of Kermán; the "Lapis Tutia" is of the same province.

P. clxxxvii. "The South Sea" or "Seas." In those days this expression was applied to the Indian Archipelago.

P. clxxxviii. W. GYFFORD. See p. ccci.

P. cxciv. HAGGERSTON. See p. ccci.

P. cxcv. HARVEY. See p. ccci.

P. ccxxvi. I was not aware that this letter had ever been printed before. But it was printed (though not published) by the Revd. G. STREYNSHAM MASTER in the work quoted at p. ccxvii, *note*.

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P. ccxxxiv. Last words of *note*. For "later part of this volume" read "Vol. iii, pp. ccv *seqq.*"

P. ccxl. Line 6. For "Turminck" read "Turmerick".

P. cclvi. For "MEVERELLY" read "MEVERELL".

P. cclx. Line 4. *Pingarey*. This appears from the description and rough drawing of a "Palanchino", in the MS. quoted above under p. xi, to be a cover or canopy of scarlet or other broadcloth, spread over the palankin. The word must be *pinjarí*, "the canopy of a carriage". See *Molesworth's Maráthí Dict.*, p. 516.

P. cclxxviii. Note 1. See, however, p. ccciii.

P. cclxxxiv. 4th paragraph, line 2d. "GYNGERLEE." The MS. recently quoted says: "The Coast called GINGALEE . . . beginneth at Point GOODAWAREE, the Entrance or South Side of the bay CORANGO" (*i.e.*, of Coringa) ". . . and reacheth or extendeth it Selfe to the great Pagod, JNO: GERNAET" (!). The writer goes on, speaking of the abundant products in grain, etc., to say that the country also produced much oil and wax, the oil being chiefly of mustard seed, and sold all over India and the South Sea. This elucidates the name as from *jinjalí*, Sesamum Indicum, for the seed and oil of which "Gingelly" is the common trade-name.

P. ccxcii. M. VINCENT. MATTHIAS VINCENT was knighted in the year 1684-5.

P. ccxciv. Other mentions of E. YALE occur in the Pitt correspondence—*vide Index*.

P. ccxcvii. Under EVANS, line 6. For "1690-9" read "1690-91".

P. ccxcix. RICHARD GOUGH. This gentleman also was knighted in 1714-15, and was M.P. for Bramber. He is ancestor of the Lords CALTHORPE.

P. ccciv. Line 6 from bottom. *Dele* comma after "were".

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LIST OF PLATES IN THIS VOLUME.

PORTRAITS.

FRONTISPIECE. Portrait of Sir STREYNSHAM MASTER, Governor of Fort St. George (1677-1681), from a portrait by Charles D'Agar, in the possession of the Rev. G. Streynsham Master, M.A. *Reproduced by Autotype Company.*

Opposite p. cxiii. Portrait of Sir JOSIA CHILD. From a print in the B. Museum, by Vander Gucht after J. Riley. *Reproduced by Autotype Company.*

Opposite p. cccxlv. Portrait of WILLIAM FIELDING, first Earl of Denbigh. From a rare engraving by Voerst (in the B. Museum), alluded to in the extract from Lodge at the page indicated above. *Reproduced by Autotype Company.*

The inscription below the print calls him: "*The Right Honourable* WILLIAM *ffielding*, Earle of *Denbigh, Vicount ffielding, and Baron of Newenham, Ambassador to the high and mighty King of Persea.*
A° 1631."

It seems very doubtful if Lord Denbigh went really as Ambassador to the King of Persia, though he did visit Persia between April 1632 and the end of that year. See *Notes of a General Letter from Surat*, at p. cccxlv.

FAC-SIMILE AUTOGRAPHS.

For reasons which it is hardly worth while to enter into, it has been desirable to place some of the plates of Vol. II. in an order different from that which had been given in the numeration, printed off before the volume was made up. It may be added that, after several of the autographs had been traced and printed off, more valuable examples were found and made use of; hence duplicate specimens are presented in some instances.

Opposite p. xx. PLATE VI, Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 1. Signatures of a letter from Mr. HEDGES and the Council at Húglí to the Council at BALASORE, dated 12th June 1683. India Office; O.C. No. 4948.

No. 2. Signature of Capt. THOMAS PITT, from a letter to Mr. R. EDWARDS, Chief at BALASORE, dated October 30th, 1679 (see Vol. III., pp. viii-ix). O.C. 4671.

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Opposite p. xliv. PLATE I.

Letter from WM. HEDGES and his fellow-passengers from England, dated in BALASORE ROAD, July 18th, 1682, announcing their arrival, and their commission, to the Chief and factory at BALASORE (see Vol. I., p. 30). In I.O.; O.C. No. 4830.

Opposite p. lxxxvi. PLATE VIII.

No. 1. Part of general letter from JOB CHARNOCK and the Council of the BAY to the Court, dated MADRAS, 30th September 1689 (see this Vol., p. lxxxvi). O.C. No. 5680.

No. 2. Signature of a letter from Captain WILLIAM HEATH to "Mr. fittchugh" (FITZHUGH), dated "*Deffence*, ye: 15th January 1684" (-5). O.C. No. 5299.

No. 3. Signature of letter from GEORGE HERRON, Húglí Pilot, etc. (see Vol. I., p. 74, etc., and Vol. III., pp. cxcix, cc, cciv), to Mr. FITZHUGH, of 21st April 1685. O.C. No. 5367.

Opposite p. civ. PLATE II.

No. 1. Letter from Mr. JOHN BEARD, Second of the Factory at Húglí, to Mr. JOHN BYAM, Chief of the Factory at BALASORE, dated "Húglí, 4th May 1683." O.C. 4944.

No. 2. Signature of a letter from Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS, Surgeon (see pp. cxxv, *seqq.*, etc.), to RICHARD EDWARDS, Chief at BALASORE, dated "HUGLY, May 17th, 1679". O.C. 4610.

No. 3. Signature of Mr. JOHN NICKS, long Secretary to the Council at FORT ST. GEORGE (see pp. cclviii, *seqq.*). From Docket of a Consultation at HÚGLÍ, Sept. 1679. O.C. 4657.

No. 4. Signature of Mr. RICHARD MOHUN, formerly of the Company's Service on the Coast (see pp. cclvi-lvii), from letter to RICHARD EDWARDS, dated "HUGLY, October the first, 1679". O.C. No. 4660.

No. 5. Signature of JOHN THOMAS, of the Company's service in the BAY (see p. cclxxxiv), from attestation of a Record of Consultation at BALASORE Sept. 1679. O.C. No. 4647.

No. 6. Signature of JOHN NAYLER, dyer in the Company's employment at KÁSIMBÁZÁR (see p. cclvii), from letter to R. EDWARDS, dated 25th April 1679. O.C. No. 4601.

No. 7. Signature of WM. JEARSEY, formerly of the Council at FORT ST. GEORGE (pp. cxcix-cc).

Opposite p. cxxix. PLATE III.

Letter from JOB CHARNOCK, FRANCIS ELLIS, and the Council of the BAY, to Mr. WM. FITZHUGH and Council at BALASORE, dated Hugly, 7th July 1686. O.C. No. 5509.

Opposite p. clix. PLATE IIIB.

No. 1. Signatures of Sir JOHN GAYER (pp. cxxxvii, *seqq*) and Mr. GEORGE WELDON (pp. cxl-cxliii), to a general letter to the Court, dated BOMBAY CASTLE, October 3d, 1694. O.C. 5930.

No. 2. Signature of HENRY GARY (p. clxxiv and pp. cccxxiii, *seqq.*), to a letter addressed to the E. I. Company, dated BOMBAY the [illegible] of February 167[illegible]. O.C. No. 431[illegible].

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Opposite p. clxxii. PLATE IX.

Nos. 1 and 2 (the 2 is an error; these form but one piece). Letter from Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM to Mr. JOHN CHILD, President at Surat, dated November 11th, 1684 (see p. clxxii). The signature only is Sir Thomas Grantham's, though all, or most, of his letters are in this handwriting. O.C. No. 5250.

Opposite p. clxxviii. PLATE IXB.

No. 1. Letter from R. KEIGWIN, Leader of the Bombay Mutineers, to Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM, dated November 15th, 1684, and signed "Your Claret Friend" (see p. clxxv). O.C. 5257.

No. 2. Indorsement of the said letter in the autograph of Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM.

Opposite p. clxxxviii. PLATE IV.

Letter of Mr. WILLIAM GYFFORD, President at FORT ST. GEORGE, to the Chief and Council at BALASORE, dated from the ship *Loyal Resolution* in BALASORE ROADS, 20th August 1684, announcing his arrival (to displace Mr. HEDGES (see Vol. I., p. 156, and this volume, pp. clxxxv, *seqq.*). O.C. No. 5184.

Opposite p. cxciv. PLATE V.

No. 1. Signature of GEORGE PEACOCKE. From a Consultation of HÚGLÍ Council, 28th April 1679. O.C. 4598.

No. 2. Do. of WM. MINCHIN. From letters from GOMBROON, 2nd Decr. 1680. O.C. 4709.

No. 3. Do. of WM. SOWDON. From letter to Mr. JOHN BYAM, Jan. 16th, 1680-81. O.C. 4715.

No. 4. Do. of Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH (see Pl. xi in Vol. III.). Letter to Mr. J. BYAM and others, d. Jan. 4th, 1681. O.C. 4788.

No. 5. Do. of JOHN BRIDGER. Signature as Member of the Council at FT. ST. GEORGE, 9th Feby. 1681-2. O.C. 4802.

No. 6. Do. of FYTCHE NEDHAM. Do. as Member of HÚGLÍ Council, 25th March 1682. O.C. 4814.

No. 7. Do. of THOMAS HAGGERSTON. Do. from letter to Capt. HENRY BURTON, dated HUGLY, 24th August 1683 (see p. cxci). O.C. 4965.

No. 8. Do. of WILLIAM HOW. Do. from letter dated MOCHA, May 26th, 1687. O.C. 5599.

No. 9. Do. of THOMAS HILL. Do. from letter to JOHN BYAM and Council at BALASORE, 10th July 1683. O.C. 4828.

No. 10. Do. of the Revd. JOHN EVANS, Chaplain at HÚGLÍ, and afterwards Bishop of BANGOR and Bishop of MEATH. Do. from letter to Mr. EDWARD READ, Decr. 5, 1682 (see p. cxxxi). O.C. 4867.

No. 11. Do. of JOHN BYAM, Chief of Balasore Factory. Do. from letter to Mr. R. NEVINSON, dated BALLASORE, 20th Jan. 1682. O.C. 4896.

No. 12. Do. of HENRY STANLEY and LEONARD BRAY. Signatures attached to letter from HÚGLÍ Council, dated 24th July 1683, to Capt. HENRY UDALL. O.C. 4954.

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Opposite p. cxciv. PLATE V (*continued*).

No. 13. Do. of Capt. HENRY UDALL. Do. to letter dated "BANCOK, Aug. 26, 1686".

No. 14. Do. of RICHARD GOUGH, of the Company's Service in Bengal (afterwards Sir Richard) as one of HÚGLÍ Council, in letter to Mr. FITZHUGH and Council at BALASORE, 10th Sept. 1684. O.C. 5200.

Opposite p. ccxxiv. PLATE VII.

No. 1. Letter from STREYNSHAM MASTER, designate Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, to Mr. R. EDWARDS, Chief at BALASORE, dated May 23d, 1679. O.C. 4611.

No. 2. Signatures of GEORGE FOXCROFT, Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, and JEREMY SAMBROOKE, Member of Council there, in a letter to Mr. RICHARD SMYTHIES, dated "FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRASSPATAN", 11th Septr. 1669. O.C. 3343.

Opposite p. cclxxxii. PLATE VIIB.

Part of letter from Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE to Governor THOMAS PITT, dated LONDON, 5th February 1701 (see p. cclxxxii). B.M. Addl. MSS. 22,851, f. 71.

Opposite p. cccxc. PLATE VI (Figs. 3 and 4).

Fig. 3. Signatures of HEDGES and Council at KÁSIMBÁZÁR to a letter to Mr. BYAM, dated 2d May 1683. O.C. 4941.

Fig. 4. Signatures of (Sir) MATTHIAS VINCENT, (Sir) EDWARD LITTLETON, and FRANCIS ELLIS, to a letter of HÚGLÍ Council to Mr. JOHN BYAM, dated 16th Feby. 1680-81. O.C. 4720.

Opposite p. cccxxxvi. PLATE X.

Signature of ALLEN CATCHPOOLE to a letter in Latin addressed to the King of COCHIN CHINA (it is of course a copy, but in his own writing), dated from PULO CONDORE, 5th April 1703. O.C. 8176.

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BIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

THE DIARY.

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BIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE DIARY.

I.

NOTICES REGARDING SIR WILLIAM HEDGES.

WILLIAM HEDGES, our Diarist, was born 21st October 1632, at Coole, co. Cork. He, as well as his father and grandfather, are formally styled "Lacy *alias* Hedges". The great-grandfather was JOHN LACY, but under what circumstances the name was changed to Hedges we have not been able to trace.[1] The eldest son of John Lacy is styled WILLIAM LACY *alias* HEDGES of Kingsdown in Wilts[2] (1571-1646); and the third son of the latter, ROBERT LACY *alias* HEDGES of Youghal, in Ireland, but also styled of Kingsdown, was born at Bourton, Berks, 23rd July 1604, died 23rd December 1670, and was buried at Cloyne Priest, co. Cork. Robert married (1630) CATHARINE, daughter of EDWARD WAKEMAN, Esq., of Mythe in Gloucestershire, and their eldest son was William aforesaid.

The first that we know of William Hedges' career is that he was a "Turkey merchant", *i.e.*, we suppose, in the service of the Levant Company. Some such circumstance may be gathered from obscure allusions in his Diary, and from the complacence with which he refers to his colloquial knowledge of Arabic and Turkish, and the impression which he represents these acquirements to have made at the Nawâb of Dacca's court[3] and elsewhere. But we also find

[1] There is no reference to the Lacies or Hedges either in St. George's *Visitation of Wilts* (1623), or in Sir R. Colt Hoare's *History of the County*. The particulars above are chiefly derived from the genealogy given in Appendix A; but some additional circumstances have been kindly supplied by Mr. Thomas Tuckey of Cork, who possesses a pedigree embracing other information. Mr. Tuckey writes: "Lacy is stated to be descended from the ancient and knightly family of Lacy of Cornwall. His wife's name is not given, and I suspect his children were illegitimate."

[2] Kingsdown is a property in the parish of Stratton.

[3] See (*e.g.*) pp. 44, 45, 145, 191, 197.

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evidence as to this passage of the Hedges biography in the *Life of Sir Dudley North.* In this we read:

"There was a celebrated house of factorage in Constantinople, of which Mr. William Hedges was the chief. The business of this house had been very great, but for want of skilful accountants, and fitting conduct, it was lapsed into utmost disorder and confusion, and needed better workmen than the present managers to recover it. Mr. Hedges, finding himself not capable for such a laborious work, was so wise as to pitch upon our merchant at Smyrna" (*i.e.*, Dudley North), "and accordingly invited him up to Constantinople, and to take a part in their *ragion*, or house. There were but two upon the place, Mr. Hedges, and one Mr. Palmer, as I remember his name was. These two had great interest, and large commissions from England, but our merchant very little, compared with theirs; so that, in that respect, he gained enough by the change . . . . . When he came up he found the factory in great disorder. The estates of the principals, as well as of the house, trusted out in a loose way, and the accounts unskilfully kept; whereby, as the nature of such business is, they had been carried on into multiplicity of errors upon errors. . . . . . The gentlemen of the house were in a miz-maze, and knew not how to take one step towards extricating themselves and their business, and, in a word, they were at their wit's end. . . . . At his first arrival he applied himself to the business of the house, and wrought very hard to make himself master of it. And although Mr. Hedges was head of the *ragion*, yet Mr. North fell into the whole direction and management; and the other finding him, as he expected, intelligent, industrious, and successful, had the discretion to let him alone, and interposed not to give him any disturbance at all; which is more than can be said of the other partner after he was gone; but of that in due place. There were divers persons of good value, as the dragomen, escrivains, etc., who had dependence on the house, and advised that Mr. Hedges should quit the helm all at once to the new partner. . . . . And once, one urging him upon this point a little closer, he only nodded towards Mr. North, and said, *Ecc' il padron*, or 'There's your Master!' After that, finding who was master indeed, they behaved themselves with entire respect towards him. . . . . After Mr. Hedges came from (? to) England and left him, which was as soon as he saw his business advanced, and in a fair way to be wholly set right, Mr. North and Mr. Palmer continued the *ragion* at Constantinople."[1]

We have not found means of exactly fixing the time when Hedges was in Turkey. The *Life of Dudley North*, however, states that when the latter "first went to Constantinople, the Lord Winchilsea was our ambassador there." Now, it appears that Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchilsea, went as Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople in 1660, and left in July 1669.[2] So that, if the

[1] *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 367-70.
[2] See Doyle's *Official Baronage of England*, vol. iii, 685.

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biography is correct, Hedges must have been there some time before 1669, and left it perhaps two or three years after that date.

The next fact in his history that we gather is his election to be one of the twenty-four "Committees", as the Directors were then styled, of the East India Company,[1] at a "General Court of the Adventurers" (or Proprietors, as the later phraseology was), 16th April 1681. Mr. Hedges had some connections or relations in the Court at this time, such as Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, who had married his sister, and Mr. Nathaniel Letten, who was also (it would appear) a connection: for a younger Nathaniel Letten, who was a factor in Bengal, is styled by Mr. Hedges "My Cousin Letten".[2] Mr. Hedges' name will be found (as Mr. Barlow has pointed out to me) in the list of names heading the dedication, dated 1st August 1681, of ROBERT KNOX's famous *Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, to the "Right Worshipful the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and Four and Twenty Committees of the Honourable the East India Company."[3]

The circumstances under which Mr. Hedges proceeded to India after he had been only a few months in the Direction of the Company, are quoted at pp. 1-2, as they are stated, a little vaguely, in Bruce's *Annals*.

We find in the *Court Books* his first selection "to be Chief for managing all the Company's affairs in the Bay of Bengal" on the 3rd September 1681, at a Court held under the presidency of

[1] Bruce (quoted below, p. 2) calls Mr. Hedges "a member of their Committees (or what in modern times would be termed a Director)," but this is not quite accurate. Each of the four-and-twenty *was* a "Committee", as appears from hundreds of entries in the *Court Books*; the word being used for an individual, as it still is in law terminology, *e.g.*, for one appointed to act for a lunatic. What was under the United Company, at a later date, called the Court of Directors, is styled in the old records "the Court of Committees". But the use was tending to change, and the term Committee is also sometimes, and increasingly towards the end of the century, used in the ordinary modern way, implying a plurality of members; in fact the singular use was obsolescent.

[2] See pp. 162, 174. The name is in several passages printed "Letter" owing to an error in the transcript used for the press.

[3] In the *Court Book* of the same year are several references to Robert Knox, such as mention of gratuities bestowed on him, and of designs to employ him. And one of these takes effect in 1684—in the shape of an appointment to command the ship *Tonquin*, bound to Madagascar, there to ship a cargo of negroes for St. Helena!

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Sir JOSIA CHILD, the Governor of the Company. On the 7th it was formally

"Resolved that Mr. WILLM. HEDGES who is elected to serve ye Comp^a^ in India doe proceed thither under the character of Governor and Superintend. of the Comp^a^ affayres in ye Bay of Bengala, and that he be allowed 200£ per ann. salary, and 100£ per annu' gratuity, to commence from ye time of his arrival at the Bay."[1]

Two days later (9th September) we find:

"Upon a second debate this day touching the regulating the Company's affayres in the Bay of Bengala, and it being found by experience that many inconveniences have occurred since the factors in the Bay have been made subordinate to Fort St. George; It is ordered that from henceforth the factories of Hughley, Ballazore, Cassumbazar, Pattana, Decca, Maulda, and all other places of the Company's Commerce in the Bay of Bengala, be a distinct Agency independent of the said Fort. And that Mr. WILLM. HEDGES, lately elected Governor and Superintendent of the Bay, be now elected Agent of the Bay."

The circumstances which led the Court to initiate this change are more distinctly indicated in the "Instructions" to Hedges, which we shall quote presently. The Company had to struggle at this time with at least three great sources of difficulty in the conduct of their affairs: (1) The growing exactions of the native rulers and their subordinate officials: (2) The recently organised efforts of the "Interlopers", as they were called, to break through the Company's monopoly, and share in the large profits of their trade: but neither of these would have been so serious as the Company regarded them but for: (3) the indiscipline and unfaithfulness of many of their own servants, over whom even wiser rulers would have found it difficult to exercise control at so vast a distance. Private trading by their servants was indeed recognised, and without such recognition the paltry salaries which they received would have been ludicrous. This in itself was bad enough as a system; but other

[1] Amounts, such as we have seen assigned to Mr. Hedges, continued to be the rates of salary to the Governor of the Company's establishments in Bengal till past the middle of the following century. The salary of a factor was at this time from £20 to £40, and that of a writer £10 a year. But it is impossible to say what the real incomes of any of these ranks were. Besides the privilege of private trading, much was made up from the allowances, for a variety of purposes, granted from the public funds. This may be illustrated by a detail which I transcribed some years ago, from an India Office record,

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recognised means by which the incomes of the servants were eked out, such as defraying the cost of food, domestic service, convey-

of the allowances received by "the Honble. Adam Dawson, Esq., President Governour" in Bengal, in 1751 :

			Old Sicca Rupees.	
"*Received out of the Cash*—				
As Salary, £200 per ann.			1,600	
Gratuity (£100)			800	
			2,400	
Batta, 12½ per cent.			300	2,700
"*Received from the* Buxey *monthly*—				
Diet money	600 rs., *i.e.*, per ann.	...	7,200	
Charges cattle ...	124	" ...	1,488	
Nuddea water ...	24	" ...	288	
Wax candles	83,,10	" ...	1,003,,8	
Charcole	8	" ...	96	
Oil	2	" ...	24	
Mussaul	1,,8	" ...	18	
Firewood (this article deviates every month)	215	" ...	2,580	12,697,,8
"*Servants' Wages*—				
3 Chubdars	12	" ...	144	
8 Frosses (*i.e.*, *Farráshes*)	11	" ...	132	
6 Mussaulches ...	12	" ...	144	
1 Barber	3,,4,,9	" ...	39,,9	
2 Head Peons... ...	10	" ...	120	
2 Flag Barers ...	5	" ...	60	
Cookroom servants ...	40	" ...	480	
8 Gualoes (*i.e.*, Cowherds)	18	" ...	216	
35 Peons	87,,8	" ...	1,050	
4 Servants	16	" ...	192	
2 Washermen ...	6	" ...	72	
7 Hands of Musuk (?) ...	164	" ...	1,968	
Their diet	100	" ...	1,200	
9 cooleys	16,,0,,3	" ...	192,,3	6,009,,12"
		Total amounts to ...		21,407,,4
		Equivalent then to		£2,676

From an earlier record, the Establishments as sanctioned by the Court for their Indian factories Jan. 7, 1657 (*i.e.*, 1658—see *Court Book*, under date) assigned to the President at Surat ... ... £500 per annum

if a person sent directly from home; otherwise but ...	350	"
Accomptant or Second	150	"
Generall Purser or Third	100	,,
Warehouse Keeper or Fourth	70	"
Minister	100	"
Secretary	40	"
Factors ... ... each	30	"
Agents at Fort St. George, Bengal, China, and Bantam ...	100	"
Chiefs of Factories from £50 down to	30	"

according to importance, etc.

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ance, etc., at the Company's expense, were almost equally suggestive of abuse; and, as a matter of fact, in the letters of the Court, charges constantly recur of the exaction of unlawful and large commissions on the purchases made on the Company's account; of private speculations made with the Company's capital; and of what was worse than anything in their eyes, viz., that which is called in one of their despatches, "the treacherous and unpardonable sin of Complyance with Interlopers."[1]

It took another century to convince the Company that the only way, under the circumstances, to secure general fidelity was to give salaries such as justified them in denying to their servants all other sources of gain. But instead of themselves attempting to exercise a control, such as the distance rendered impracticable, the obvious suggestion was to exercise that control through a well-selected, trusted, and well-paid delegate, upon the spot. Some such notion was presumably in the mind of the Company's leaders in appointing Mr. Hedges to Bengal. But as the event proved, he was not well selected, he was not trusted, nor was he well-paid. Hardly any man appointed to high place in India, at this period, continued for more than the briefest space to retain the confidence of the Court. Thus Sir William Langhorne, Streynsham Master, William Gyfford, and Elihu Yale were successively appointed to the government of Fort St. George, with every expression of confidence, but were successively superseded, and visited with unmitigated censure, sometimes, as in the case of Master, with constantly recurring and virulent disparagement. Thus, too, Hedges was started with assurance of trust; but before long the feeling of the Court was against him; and within less than two years of his departure for India his dismissal was ordered. The most important basis of criticism on the acts of their Agents seems to have been the private correspondence which members of the local Councils carried on with the Governor of the Company, or with other influential members of the Court at home. Previous to the appointment of Hedges, the factories of "the Bay", *i.e.*, of Bengal, had been in subordination to Fort St. George; and

[1] Court's letter to Agent and Council in the Bay of Bengal, of 20th September 1682.

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the Agent and Governor there had been directed to exercise personal supervision. Two attempts, apparently, at this had been made, both of them by Streynsham Master, first when designated to succeed as Governor of Fort St. George, in 1676, and again, when actual Governor, in 1679. But so little was the Court satisfied with the conduct of affairs on the latter occasion, that Master was removed from office, and for months afterwards, as we have indicated, he is never mentioned without strong censure and unreasonable condemnation. Both in his case and in that of Hedges, it seems possible to trace in the correspondence that, whatever their deserts may have been, the instrument of their downfall was the private correspondence of subordinates, such as we have alluded to, and especially, we must suspect, that of the memorable JOB CHARNOCK, the eventual founder of Calcutta.

We have said that Mr. Master is strongly censured, but even much stronger and more virulent is the condemnation poured upon MATTHIAS VINCENT, who was Chief of Húglí factory and of the Bay, when Hedges was appointed. He is thus spoken of in one of the letters to Hedges and his Council, sent soon after the arrival of the new Agent in India.[1] The letter says, with reference to a suggestion for doubling the stock (or capital) assigned to the Bay-trade, that the Court had not attained that full confidence in all the Chiefs and factories of the Bay which would justify such a step, though in a few years they might be led to it:—

"By your good conduct and examples, after you have weeded out those wicked men and (the) vicious habits, which the ill example, partiality and avarice of our late Chiefe and Councill contracted among them, such as his ungodly taking of *Dusturee*, his giving *Dusticks* to the Natives, to the endangering the Company's privilidges, his and Mr. LITTLETON's bribing of Agent MASTERS, his abominable sinful forcing of his own *tutinack*, Long Pepper, (and) Copper, in lieu of the Company's ready money, while the Company's goods lye unsold in their Warehouses; his partiality to Factories where the Chiefs were his own creatures; his contrivance to get Mr. CHARNOCK out of his Chiefship at Casumbazar; his riotous and expensive way of living; his depredating all Factories where the Chief would not serve his interest to the Company's damage; his connivance at the base sorting the Company's goods, and checking such as would hold the merchants to their *Musters*; and his odious infidelity in countenancing Interlopers."[2]

[1] Dated 20th September 1682.
[2] Letter to Bengal, as quoted above. In I. O.

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More to like effect will be found under Vincent's name in the Illustrations, Pt. III.

On the 14th September 1681, an order of the Court permits Mr. Hedges "to take with him his wife, three children, and three maid-servants, in Captain Heath's new ship, he paying the charge of their transportation." On the same day the instructions prepared for Mr. Hedges are referred to the Committees for consideration. This paper is further considered by the Court on the 3rd October, and it is then ordered

"That it be referred to Sir JOSEPH ASHE, Sir S. BARNARDISTON, and Mr. WARD, to aduise with Sir WM. JONES about the seueral clauses in the Instructions .... and in the letters prepared to be written to the Agent and Councill at Fort St. George, and to receiue his" (*i.e.*, Sir W. Jones's) "opinion in writing."[1]

On the 28th September the securities tendered for Mr. Hedges are approved, viz., four of £500 each. The four gentlemen are NATHANAEL and JOHN LETTEN, NICHOLAS and JOHN VANACKER, of whom more hereafter. Under the same date Mr. du Bois and Mr. Hedges are desired to procure *musters* (samples) of all sorts of cotton-wool most in demand in England, and to inform themselves to the best of their ability regarding the nature of the cotton-wool in Bengal.[2] 30th September, Mr. Hedges is authorised to procure a supply of wine, and a chest of medicaments for the use of the Húglí factory. 13th October, it is ordered that application be made to the Secretary of State for H.M.'s letters commanding all persons in the Bay of Bengala to obey Mr. Hedges. On the 14th Mr. Hedges receives permission to retain, "as a cook for dressing diet in the Factory at Hughly", a certain Frenchman, one of twelve soldiers designed for Fort St. George, who go out in the ship with him. 4th November, permission is granted to Mr. Hedges to ship, freight-free, 13,000 dollars, 600 ounces wrought plate, and several jewels belonging to his wife.

[1] Sir William Jones was successively Solicitor-General (1673), and Attorney-General (1675-79); resigned 1679; died 1682.

[2] Two years later, the Court, in a despatch to Fort St. George (21st December 1683), drop the notable observation: "Cotton yarne is growne a noble commodity, of which Wee sent our President a pattern . . . and it is a brave commodity to fill up our ships." . . .

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On the 18th November it is ordered that the Commission granted to Mr. Hedges should embrace, as his associates in the Council at Húglí, Mr. JOB CHARNOCK, Mr. JOHN BEARD, Mr. JOHN RICHARDS, Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS, Mr. JOSEPH DODD, and Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSON.

With the first, second, and fourth of these, as we shall see, Mr. Hedges came into constant collision, and in the end they proved too much for him.

We now transcribe the more important parts of the Instructions.

"INSTRUCTIONS to WILLIAM HEDGES, Esq., elected Agent and Governour of the English East India Companies affairs in the Bay of Bengala, and other Factories now or lately Subordinate to our Chief and Council of the Bay, usually resident at Hughly, vizt. Ballasore, Cassambuzar, Maulda, Decca, Pattana, etc. And to all and every of our Councils in the severall Factories in the Bay—

"THE occasions of our electing and Sending the said WILLIAM HEDGES, Esqr. under the Character of Agent at this tyme, are such as these following:

"1st. The injury done us and Mr. CHARNOCK in Keeping him a year or more out of that employment We had appointed him unto. 2dly. The Shamefull negligence of our Chief and Council in retarding our Shipping so long as to hazard their passages about the Cape and loss of their passage this year, As also in not sending us either letters or Invoices by the Ships last year, or the *Sampson* now arrived. 3dly. The suspected infidelity of Mr. VINCENT our late Chief and others, in abetting, adviseing, or conniveing at the late Interloper which loaded in the Bay. 4ly. The retarding of our Accompts in the Bay so long, That for want of them to enter into the Court Bookes, We are deprived this year of our Bookes of Accompts from thence likewise. 5ly. The Strange neglect of our Orders in the Bay, in not making Seasonable and full provision of Raw Silk in such large quantities as from tyme to tyme We have directed.

"1. Now the duty of you our Agent, GOD sending you to arrive in the Bay, and of our Councel, is to follow from time to time all such Orders and directions as you shall receive from us or any Thirteen of us, The Governour or Deputy for the time being, being one. And in the first place Wee do require you with all possible Speed immediately upon our Agents arrivall in the Bay to seize upon the person of Mr. MATTHIAS VINCENT our late cheif in the Bay, and send him forthwith a prisoner on board the Ship *Defence*, Capt. HEATH commander, where lett him remain under Safeguard in Charge of the Capt., having all convenient accommodations, but no permission to return on Shore in India, upon any pretence or cause whatsoever untill he be landed in England, to the End he may be brought hither within the reach of his Majesties laws, and according to his Majesties Charter, to answer to the severall breaches of his trust and other notorious abuses committed by him."

2. (To seize his books, papers, and effects, etc.)

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"3. That you apply yourselves to examine and enquire into all the abuses, frauds and injuries, that have been done by Mr. VINCENT or any other of the ffactors to the Company, and particularly touching of 2½ pr. Cent. on the Company's Bullion, or in the price of Goods bought or sold for them.

"4. That in pursuance of his Majesties Charter and Commission out of the Chancery, you doe make strict enquiry, and take examination upon Oath Concerning all frauds, wrongs and abuses done to the Company in their Affairs, and also touching the said Interloper as to the time of her arrivall with goods she brought thither, and how they were disposed of, also what goods were reladen on her in the Bay, and by whom, and for whose accompt, and who were aiding and assisting therein, either openly or clandestinely . . . . . . and if . . . it appear that Mr. VINCENT, or any other person have diverted any of the Company's estate to their own use, or made use of the Company's monies or effects to buy Goods in their own or other mens names . . . . . . or that they have taken *Dustoorie* on goods bought or sold for the Company, that then you endeavour by all means to secure such estate of the Company's, however concealed or disguised under other Men's names.

"5. In regard Mr. EDWARD LITTLETON hath this year presumed to stay his brother in India, being one of Capt. CHAMBERS' Mates, and for divers other causes, his time being expired, Wee doe hereby dismiss the said Mr. EDWARD LITTLETON our service, and from all benefits thereby, from after our Agent's first arrival in Hughly. But all excuses set a part, we do require (you) to send him and his said brother home by this year's Shipping: And to secure Mr. EDWARD LITTLETON'S coming home accordingly, you are to take sufficient security from him for his so doing.

"6. And for all English in or out of our service which you shall in any way discover to have had any privity, correspondency, or intelligence with any of the late Interlopers, we would have you send them home; let not one of these treacherous persons stay in our service, nor remain in India."

7. (Not to let any Commander receive on board goods for Europe of the kinds reserved to the Company's trade.)

8. (To keep a Diary and Consultation book as at Fort St. George, and to send it yearly with copy of Letter-book, etc., etc.)

"9. You are diligently and often to peruse all our Letters wrote to the Bay these last 3 years, that you may the better understand our business, and observe in them what wee dislike, to avoyd: and what wee desire, that you may promote and pursue the same.

"10. If you find any of our Servants indebted to us, compel them forthwith to cleer their accompts, according to our printed Rules; and in conformity thereunto, if any neglect or delay to do their duties, dismiss them our Service and send them home.

"11. Reduce the expenses of the Factory at Hughly, and all subordinate factories in the Bay, which have been extreamly enhaunced these few years last past.

"12. As soon as you are well acquainted encrease the number of our

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Native Merchants for all sorts of India Commodities, and bring them into Joint Stock, 100 or More in a Society, answerable for one another, jointly and severally, after the Dutch manner.

"13. Deliver us from that insufferable abuse which hath long been put upon us by Mr. VINCENT in taking 2½ pr. Cent. upon all or most part of our Bullion, for which wee shall hope to have satisfaction from him here: you acting your parts faithfully and dexterously for our security, upon our Agent's arrivall at Hughly.

"14. Upon our Agent's first arrivall at Ballasore he is to read the Commission herewith given him, and then confirm the Councel there, adding to them as youngest of Council, one of those wee shall send with him from hence. Our said Agent is to Command as many of our *peons* as he shall think needful to attend him to Hughly: when he comes to Hughly he is to read his Commission there also, and after Mr. VINCENT is secured as aforesaid then to read these Instructions publickly; and to proceed to other business. Given under our hands this 14th of November 1681.

"*Chris. Boone*	*Josia Child* Govr
Edwd. Rudge.	*Samll Barnardiston.*
John Morden.	*Josph. Ash.*
Joseph Herne.	*John Laurence.*
John Du Bois.	*James Edwards.*
James Ward.	*Richd Hutchinson.*"

In their letter to Fort St. George of 18th November the Court write as follows:

"Upon all the foregoing considerations, and a resolution we have taken by all means within our Charter to assure our right and subdue all Interlopers, their Furtherers, aiders and Abetters, We have despatched this Shipp *Defence* early, with a Corporall and some Souldiers, to be a guard and assistance to WILLIAM HEDGES, Esqr., one of our present Committee here, whom for this extraordinary occasion, and *in confidence of the many promises he hath made us, and the great assurance we have had from his relations, being also of our Committee,* we have graced with the Title of Agent and Governour of all our affairs and Factories in the Bay of Bengall.

"We are in hopes the said Mr. HEDGES is of a more staid, grave, and moderate mind than to make a vaine ostentatious use of the title We have conferr'd upon him, to our damage and the encrease of our charge, as some others have done, no less ridiculosly in the Judgment of serious persons than weakly with respect to our Interest and their owne."

The words of the preceding extract which we have printed in italics do convey an impression that Hedges started on his commission without possessing in any substantial degree the confidence of the Court, and certainly not that of Sir JOSIA CHILD, then Governor of the Company (or Chairman, in modern style), who probably dictated this letter.

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In their letter to Bengal, of the same date, the Court say, however, among other things:

"Although we have for the reasons stated in our Instructions, and out of particular esteem and respect for our Agent HEDGES, made the Bay of Bengala a distinct Agency, without any dependence upon the Fort, Yet we do require that this our respect shall not put you upon a higher sort of living, by an extravagancy of expence in Servants, dyet, etc., and do no wayes doubt that you will considerably retrench the exorbitant expences that have been during the Chiefship of Mr. VINCENT."

We need not abstract the circumstances of Mr. Hedges' residence in India, which are detailed in his Diary; but we shall give some extracts from the correspondence connected with his dismissal. As late as September 1683 we find the Court writing to the Council of the Bay in substantial, though somewhat guarded and confused, commendation of the Agent's acts.[1] But many months before, we can see from Mr. Hedges' letters to Sir HENRY JOHNSON (App. E) that he was already apprehensive of the result of adverse letters sent from India, and aware even of specific rumours spread in the factories from Charnock's mouth, that he was to be displaced in two years,[2] rumours that were literally fulfilled in the event. One of these letters also speaks, though not in a very lucid manner, of Hedges' own dealing with a letter of Mr. John Beard's to Sir Josia Child, a most injudicious proceeding to say the least, and one which was, to use his own metaphor otherwise applied, the rock upon which his Indian career split. He nowhere in his Diary gives any account of this matter, though there are allusions to it at pp. 158-9, and p. 186. It appears that in Balasore Roads, at the end of January 1683, on board the *Defence*, then about to sail for England, Mr. William Johnson "had the sight" (how, it does not appear) of the letter in question, which was in-

[1] "Wee do well approve of our Agent's Industry and success in such an unhappy Time of trouble and opposition that Wee do approve of all things that he did yet come to our Knowledge, tho' some were not directly according to our order" (to Bengal, dd. 5th Sept. 1683).

[2] See also p. 146, where, speaking of Charnock, Hedges says, under date January 3d, 1683 (*i.e.*, 1684): "It's absolutely necessary that one of us two be displaced. He brags never no Chief was yett able to contend with him and Hervey, and makes no doubt but to give me my Mittimus this next shipping."

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tended to go home with the ship, and "communicated it" to Hedges. The latter, in his letter to Sir Henry Johnson, intimates his opinion that it was not good to deliver the letter until accompanied by Beard's recantation of the calumnies which it contained; and he expresses his intention of bringing Beard publicly to book as soon as he returned to Hoogly. This brave intention was evidently not carried out, but it is not clear whether the letter was suppressed, or only delayed. The letter of Mr. William Johnson, to which Hedges refers Sir Henry Johnson for details, has unfortunately not been preserved in that book of letters to Sir Henry, in the British Museum, which has furnished the letters from Hedges printed in Appendix E.

On 21st December 1683 the Court issued the following formal revocation of their Commission to Mr. Hedges, accompanied by letters to Fort St. George and to Bengal, of which we shall also give a few extracts:

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas by Our Commission under Our larger Seale, bearing date the 14th day of November Anno Dni. 1681, and in the three and thirtith year of the raign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second (etc.), Wee did make, constitute, and ordain (etc.) . . . by which Commission among other things the said Wm. Hedges was to enter upon the said Agencie and Government immediately on his arrivall at Hughly aforesaid, And to execute all powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, and to continue in the Exercise of the same during Our pleasure, and untill the contrarie thereof should be signified under the Seale of our said Companie. But it having since appeared to Us that the said Wm. Hedges, contrarie to our trust reposed in him as aforesaid, was privie or consenting to the opening and detaining Mr. Beard's Letter unto Sir Josia Childe our then Governor, and hath otherwise failed in his dutie towards Us, Wee doe therefore hereby utterlie repeale, revoke, anull and make voyd our aforesaid Commission unto the said Willm. Hedges, and all and everie the powers (etc.) thereby granted to him the said Willm. Hedges. And We doe hereby declare our will and pleasure is, that the said Willm. Hedges from and after the arrivall of this Commission in the East Indies, and publication thereof, shall have noe further concern, suffrage, or authoritie, in the management (etc.) of any of our affairs in the Bay of Bengala or elsewhere in the East Indies."

(The Commission goes on to appoint Mr. William Gyfford to be President and Governor of all the English E. I. Company's affairs

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upon the Coast of Choromandel and in the Bay of Bengala,[1] and to nominate as the Council of Húglí, after the said President—1, JOHN BEARD; 2, JOB CHARNOCK; 3, FRANCIS ELLIS; 4, RICHARD TRENCHFEILD; 5, SAM. GRIFFITH; 6, THOMAS LEY; 7, RICHARD GOFF; 8, EDWARD OXBOROUGH.)

Extracts of letter to Fort St. George, of 21st December 1683:

"By sending our letter to the Bay open to you, and our Commission to the President and Council there, we shall save ourselves the labour of much repetition.

"You will see thereby that we have dismissed Mr. Hedges our service, and have appointed and constituted our present worthy Agent WILLIAM GYFFORD, Esq., the President and Governor of all our affayrs upon the Coast of Choromandel and in the Bay of Bengal . . . .

"But forasmuch as our affairs have been much interrupted by the insolency of the Moors Government, as well as by the designe of our late Agent HEDGES to arrive at an uncontroulable empire over all our faithful ancient experienced servants there, under pretence, but really in contempt, of our authority, as appeared by his detaining the Governor's Letters, and some other darker instances" . . .

Extracts from letter to President and Council in the Bay of Bengal. Same date:

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[1] Repeated at this time in the Court's letters are the laudations of Gyfford, and expressions of confidence in him. But after he had been superseded we find the tone entirely changed, and such passages as the following in the letters to Fort St. George :—

"It's monstrous unhappy that your notions and ours should always so clash, and be contrary in all things. On the other side of India, We always Concenter in one Opinion concerning Persons and things, with our most worthy Generall" (Sir JOHN CHILD) "and Councill of Surrat. We hope it will be otherwise hereafter, now we have made such a change in your Council, for in truth it is intolerable, and we can suffer it no longer." . . . (22d October 1686).

". . . it being impossible to combine any orders so wisely or justly that witty self-ended men may not pervert (them) to our disadvantage; but we will hope our new President (YALE) will turne the Streame of his good parts into a better Channel, that we may have no further occasion of writing to you in this manner" . . . (*Ibid.*).

"We have replied with the more sharpness to your letter aforesaid; because we are weary with fruitless reprehending your rash inconsiderate attempts and actions, not only without but against our express orders; as if Old President GYFFORD had not only lost his first love to our service, but his under standing with it; and if it were not for his former better services, we should doe more than speak hardly of him" (28th Sept. 1687).

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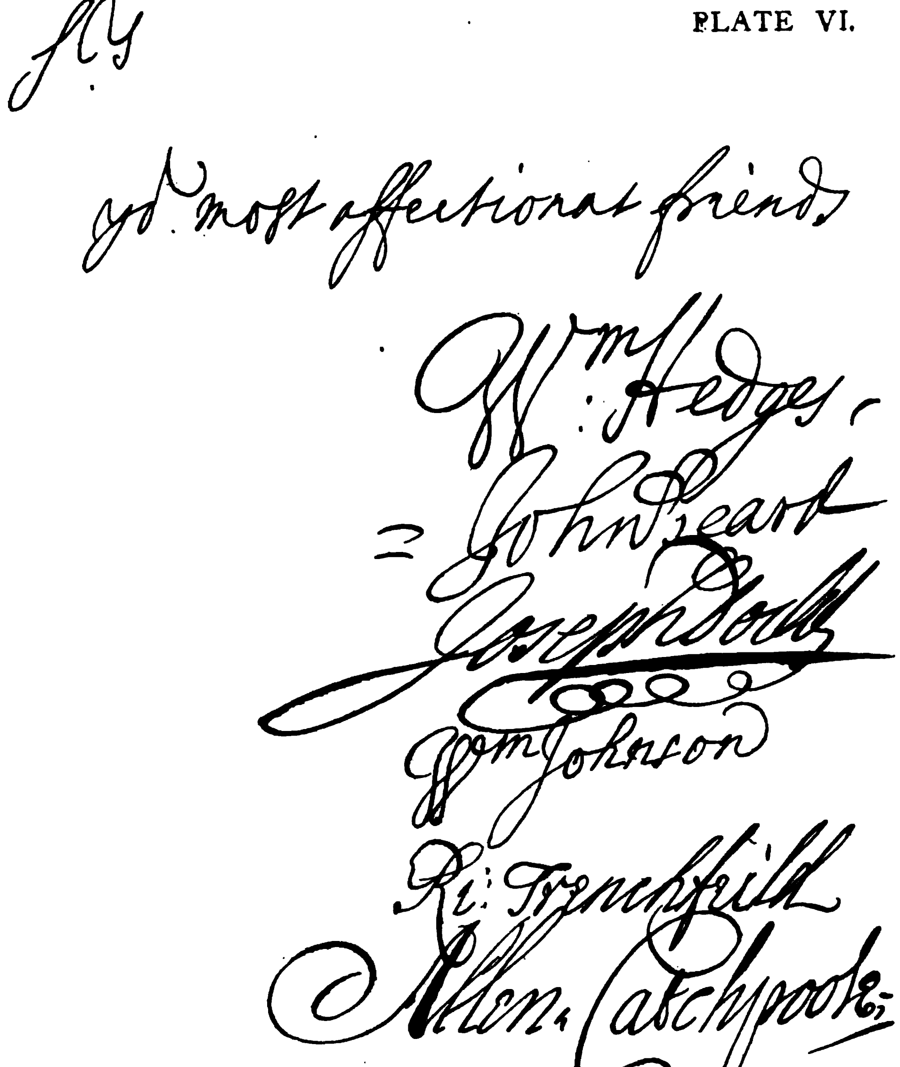
No. 1.



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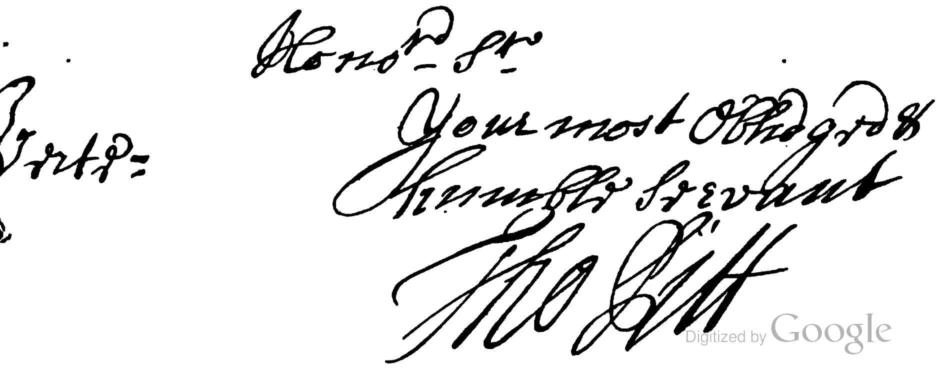

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"Tho' We approve of our late Agent's proceedings to and at Dacca, we cannot agree with two inferences that he makes, First, that because NAYLER had a *Dustick* for 5 Bales of Silk, Mr. CHARNOCK is a Partner and favourer of Interlopers. 2dly. because Mr. HARVEY did not presently goe to Maulda, he concludes he never intended to go; Neither of which two inferences do Wee believe, or ever shall till wee see better proof of them, being not so fickle as suddenly to conceive ill of men, that stood so many Shocks for our service, in the time of MASTERS, VINCENT, and LITTLETON, upon the suggestion of a person that opened or deteyned our Governor's Letter, of which more hereafter.

"In the 7 Paragraph of your generall letter of 22 January you move us upon the Old Theam again for a double Stock, which is a strange impertinency at this time, especially when you see all our Estate there is in such jeopardy by the insolence of Government, etc., that Wee cannot think that advice was well meant towards us . . . .

"And now before we proceed, it is fitt wee should tell you that for divers good causes and considerations, the principall whereof you will find in our Commission now sent under our larger Seale, Wee have thought fitt and doe hereby as well as by our Commission aforesaid, dismiss Mr. WILLIAM HEDGES from being our Agent in Bengall and from haveing anything to doe with any of our Affairs in the East Indies" (etc.) . . . .

"But forasmuch as a letter from our late Agent HEDGES, directed to Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE Our Present Deputy Governor, hath been read in our Court of Committees, charging heinious crimes upon our present Agent Mr. BEARD, Mr. CHARNOCK, Mr. ELLIS, Mr. HARVEY, and Mr. POWNSETT, Wee have requested Sir Jeremy to send the same letter to you that you may see the accusations and give Us your opinion concerning the truth of them after you have made such just Scrutiny thereinto as you can without putting Us to charge, or such a formall examination of the matter as was formerly used in the case of JOHN SMITH and JOSEPH HALL, which was a great expence of time and perturbation of our Affairs that year, which therefore Wee have ever since avoided and will always avoid for the future.

"We have the more reason to believe the said persons may be injured in the accusations laid to their charge by the aforesaid letter, because Wee have ground to suspect their letters by our last Ships from the Bay were intercepted, because some of our Committee, and some other gentlemen that used to receive letters from them, say they have none by our last Ships the *Defence* and *Society*." . . .

Some friend of Mr. Hedges in the Court interposes apparently to mitigate the disparaging treatment of that gentleman which this letter was likely to produce at Húglí, and a paragraph is inserted:

"Notwithstanding our late Agent Mr. HEDGES disobliged us so much before the coming away of the *Society*, as you have heard, yet in regard he is Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE'S brother-in-law, and was formerly a member of our Com-

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mittee, we would dismiss him with as much civility and respect as the nature of his case will admit: And therefore during our President's stay in the Bay you may let him, if he desire it, keep his chambers and other accommodations in our factory, and his place next our President at the table." . . .

But by next despatch the Court are afraid of having been too gracious to the dismissed Agent, and they write (5th March 1684):

"Our favour intended Mr. HEDGES in our former letter is onely in respect to Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE, and not in the least to Mr. HEDGES himself, whose evil deportment and carriage in opening or detaining the Governor's Letters, was such as to render him not deserving the least kindness from Us. However, if he behave himself Civilly without Interrupting or prejudicing our business openly or Secretly, you may lett him have a fair exit as Wee then writt you."

It may be noticed that Sir J. Sambrooke's signature is attached to the former of these two letters, but not to the latter.

In the course of Hedges' Diary he more than once alludes to a scheme for shaking off the oppressive exactions of the Nabob and his officials, by coming to open quarrel with them, and establishing a fortified settlement somewhere near the mouth of the Húglí (see pp. 133-134, 161). In the passage last referred to he adds that he had expressed this opinion to the Company and to his friends at home, a few months after his arrival in India.

These communications from Hedges are referred to at considerable length by the Court in their letter of 21st December 1683. They begin the subject thus:—

"Our late Agent and some of our Captains tell us there is noe way to mend our condition but by seizing and fortifying one of those pleasant Islands[1] in the Ganges about the Braces, unto which proposal Wee have the following objections:"

(These, stated briefly, are (1) the cost, which will be very slowly reimbursed; (2) the irritation to the Mogul, who in revenge might seize all the Company's property, not only in the Bengal factories, but at Surat, etc.; (3) the probability that the Dutch might "wind themselves into the quarrell", and take sides with the Mogul):

4. "All the prejudice Wee can doe the Mogull in Ganges Is stopping a little trade at Ballasore of his Elephant and Beetle-Nutt Ships and his salt Vessells,

[1] Such as Saugor Island, and Hijilí! hardly, if at all, above the sea level.

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Whereas from Bombay, which Wee have fortified already, Wee can stop his Mecah, Persia, and Bussora Fleets, which are worth 2 or 3 million pounds Sterling per annum. And Wee think it will be impertinent, at a vast charge, to create another Garrison, to doe not half the Worke Wee can doe with that of Bombay which we have already, which if you observe well the Nabob himselfe in his letter to the Mogull, a copy whereof your *Vackel* JAMES PRICE brought you from Decca" (is aware of ?).[1]

((5) The strong fort at Bombay does not give *trade*. It is a check, indeed, on the Mogul, but one strong check is better than two weak ones. (6) The biggest ship can moor at Bombay, whilst those islands about the Braces are in shoal water, and the big ships which are our main-stay in time of danger can't ride near them.)

(But if you could get a *grant* from the Mogul of such an island, this, settled under English laws, might in time afford a revenue, and would furnish a good locality for the residence of our Agent and Council):

"Some others have propounded to Us the seizing upon a Towne called CHITTAGONE, in the Eastermost mouth of the River Ganges, upon or near the coast of RACKAN, which Towne did formerly belong to the RECKANNERS, and was taken from them by the Mogull's forces, and is already fortified with some bastians and Walls and Guns after the Moors fashion, which notwithstanding 2 of our Ships with two or three of our Sloops would surprise in a day." . . .

This was a preferable scheme the Court recognise, for reasons given, though for the present they would encourage no such project. But the Court evidently drew fine distinctions, not unworthy of certain modern English "Statesmen"; for whilst setting their objections in array against such an act of war as had been suggested, they evidently took a different view of an armed demonstration, and they write:

"We are positively resolved first or last to assert our right due to Us by the great King's *Phirmaund*, purchased to Us at sundry times to our cost (of) above 150,000*l*. Sterling, including presents and the charge of building our severall Factories, and therefore Wee shall never submitt peaceably to the Custom demanded of Us at the arrivall of our Agent HEDGES;"

(So they would have the President Gyfford take down with him to the Bay a complete Company of foot-soldiers with Officers, drums, and colours, and also drums and colours enough to equip

[1] There is some incompleteness here.

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a second complete Company out of their seamen; to land at Húglí with this force "peaceably and friendly", and if the embarrassments continued, to send the Nabob a "Vackel", and a letter demanding redress. If this were not given, to withdraw the factories at "Maulda and Decca." And

"if we must leave them it will be prudence if Wee can effect it, rather to leave them indebted to Us then Wee to them.[1] . . . How far it will be necessary for you to conceale your utmost purpose till you have received our Petre from Pattana, Wee must leave to your discretion, as also whether, at last if you are put to it, it may not be proper to seize Balchand[2] and Permiseradas' persons and send them on board our Ships, as also to stop the Mogull's Salt Vessels," etc., etc.

Though the Court raised objections to the suggestions of breach with the native power, it is evident, from the course of their remarks, that they did not hold to these seriously; and in their succeeding letters they come back again and again to the subject of the acquisition of a fortified settlement. The events at Húglí within the next few years led to the accomplishment of their desires and the establishment of the settlement at CHUTTANUTTY (*Chatánatí*), now known as Calcutta.

We now return to the personal history of Mr. Hedges.

We have seen that the Court's Order of 14th September 1681 permitted him to take with him in the ship *Defence* to India his wife and three children. The information afforded by the genealogy under Mr. Hedges' signature in the Heralds' Office, and by an inscription at Stratton St. Margaret's (see App. B), shows that this (first) wife of Mr. Hedges was SUSANNA, eldest daughter of NICHOLAS VANACKER, of Erith in Kent. The notices of her in the Diary are the scantiest possible. She is mentioned as embarking with her husband on the *Defence* (p. 15); as visited at Cassambazar (*Kásimbázár*) by the chief of the Dutch factory and his wife, April 17th, 1683 (p. 77); and as accompanying her husband on a picnic to the ruins of Gour, May 16th (p. 89). There is also in Hedges' letter, from the British Museum Collection, dated Balasore,

[1] Another passage shows that the Court meant just the reverse (see p. lxxii).

[2] Balchand, "that Corrupt Villain," had departed this life a few weeks before this letter was written (see p. 140). Permesuradas, "that great Villaine," had been turned out (see pp. 134, 140).

30th January 1683, and printed in our App. (E), an allusion to the alleged slanders of Mr. Beard regarding himself and his wife. But after the mention of the Gour expedition she is never once alluded to. Like Creüsa, she vanishes unaccounted for, "*nec post oculis est reddita nostris.*"

It is only from the Stratton epitaph that we learn that she died in child-birth at Húglí, 6th July 1683, and that after she had been buried there her remains were removed by her husband and deposited, "with great affection but little ostentation", in the far-distant Wiltshire churchyard, A.D. 1687, shortly after his return from India.

This date seems to indicate that the bones of this poor lady (and her infant son) must have been carried with Hedges on that tedious journey from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Scanderoon, as, sixty years before, Pietro della Valle had carried the body of his beloved Signora Maani from the same shores to deposit it, five years after death, in the Church of Araceli.

There is in Hedges' Diary, at the time of his wife's confinement and death, an interval of six days without entry, viz., from July 2nd to July 8th, but no suggestion of domestic trouble. The child's birth occurred 4th July.

We learn nothing of the children for whom passage had been granted with their parents on the *Defence* in 1681. One of them appears, from the genealogy in App. A, to have died before embarking, but the other two must have been sent home before the termination of their father's Indian career.

Mr. Hedges, as will be seen in the Diary, sailed from the Downs January 28th, 1682, anchored in Balasore Roads 18th July, and reached Hoogly 24th July. He first heard of his dismissal July 17th, 1684; was actually displaced by the arrival of President Gyfford from Madras, Aug. 30th; left Hoogly and embarked on the *Recovery*, December 30th; sailed from Balasore January 10th, 1685; and from Madras February 7th; landed at Kong in Persia May 27th; reached Scanderoon October 29th, 1686; sailed thence November 6th; landed at Toulon February 10th, 1687, and at Dover April 4th.

Among the friends who met him at Rochester and Blackheath

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on his return, he mentions (p. 249) "my Cousin Dr. CHARLES HEDGES, my two brothers VANACKER[1] . . . . my brother and sister, Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE and his Lady, Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSON and his Lady" . . . . Of the Vanackers we speak in a footnote, and notices of Dr. Hedges, a man who, as Sir Charles, rose to high position, and of the others will be found in Part III of these Illustrations.

The remaining facts of his history which we have been able to gather are few and meagre. Soon after his return, on 21st July 1687, Mr. Hedges married, as his second wife, Anne, daughter of Paul Nicoll, of Hendon Place in Middlesex, and widow of Colonel John Searle of Finchley. (*Diary*, p. 249.)

March 6th, 1688, Mr. Hedges was knighted by King James II (*ib.*).

In 1690 we read, "There was put up . . . . for Sheriffs by the Church party, Sir William Hedges and Thomas Cook, Esq.," but they lost their election. In June 1693 he was more successful, and was chosen Sheriff along with Alderman Abuey. A month later he was chosen Alderman (for Portsoken Ward). In 1694 he was chosen one of the twenty-four directors of the New Bank (*i.e.*, the Bank of England),[2] and though he never again became one of the "Committees" of the East India Company, his connection with it was to a certain extent resumed, for in the same Chronicle we read, under January 17th, 1698-9:

"The old East India Company have agreed this day to a resolution for a coalition with the new Company upon reasonable terms, and sent Sir John

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[1] These gentlemen, Nicholas and John Vanacker, brothers of Mrs. Hedges and merchants in the City, were also, as has been mentioned above, securities for Mr. Hedges in his engagement with the Company. The elder brother, Nicholas Vanacker, was knighted at Kensington, 21st January 1701, and immediately afterwards received a baronetcy, with remainder to his brother John, and after the latter to Sir Jeremy Sambrooke. So *Le Neve;* but rather to Sir Jeremy's son, whose mother was a sister of the Vanackers and of Mrs. Hedges. John Vanacker, after succeeding his brother as baronet, died 1710, unmarried, and was apparently succeeded by Samuel Vanacker Sambrooke, son of Sir Jeremy, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Keeper Wright (see Le Neve's "Knights", in *Harleian Society Publications*, viii, 1174, and the same genealogist's "Collections" in Nichols's *Topographer and Genealogist*, iii, 36-37).

[2] See Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, vol. ii, p. 47; iii, 123, 131, 342.

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Lethulier and Sir William Hedges (two of their members) to acquaint them with the same, who promised to call a General Court, and to give an answer."[1]

This I find quite confirmed by the *Court Books* in the India Office. May 25th, 1698, the Governor communicated to a General Meeting of the Adventurers (or Court of Proprietors, as it would latterly have been called) certain resolutions which the Commons had passed the day before, empowering H.M. to name Commissioners "to take subscriptions for advancing of 2 millions upon an interest of 8 per cent., and the liberty of trading to the E. Indies, exclusive of all others", etc., etc. These resolutions, so menacing to the old Company, formed the basis of the New, or English, East India Company; and to deal with this danger the old Company formed a "Grand Committee" of twenty-six gentlemen associated with the twenty-six of their Court. A similar Committee was again formed in January 1699, and of this last Sir John Lethuillier and Sir William Hedges were members. And these two were deputed, as stated by Luttrell, to open negotiations for coalition with the New Company, or "Subscribers to the Two Millions", as they were generally designated in the proceedings of the Old Company.

In 1700 Hedges was a candidate for the Mayoralty, but was not successful. In the following year he died, and was buried, as directed in his will, in the vault where his first wife lay, at Stratton St. Margaret's.[2]

His will had been made in April 1698, and a codicil in May 1699. These, with certain "obliterations and alterations", were republished, and declared to be his last will, 5th August 1701. And from another source we learn that on this day he died.[3] The

[1] See Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, vol. iv, p. 473.

[2] It is stated in the *Brief Hist. Relation* of Narcissus Luttrell, as published, iv, 448, under date 8th November 1698, that a patent had "*past* the seals to create Sir William Hedges, a merchant at Cadiz, a baronet of England". As this statement gave me some useless trouble, I may note that this was Sir William *Hodges*. His name often appears in the I. O. Records as an agent of the Company at Cadiz.

[3] "Hedges, Sir William, dyed at his house in London, tuesday 5 Aug. 1701." (Memoranda, by *P. Le Neve*, in *The Topographer and Genealogist*, ed. by *John Gough Nichols*, iii, p. 39.)

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burial at Stratton took place on the 15th,[1] and the will was proved on the 20th.

Sir William Hedges left by his first wife two sons, William and Robert, and a daughter Susanna; by his second wife, two sons, John and Charles. To William he bequeathed certain landed property in the county of Cork. A family or families of Hedges seem to have survived in Ireland, because I see the name has been borne at one time, through some intermarriage and inheritance, by the family of the Earl of Bantry, whose coat also quarters the same arms as were borne by the Lacies *alias* Hedges, including Sir William. Whether these Irish Hedges were descended from one of Sir William's elder sons, or from his "Irish brother" (see p. xlii), I do not know.[2] Nor can I trace anything of those elder sons. The two younger sons, John and Charles, appear as executors of their mother's will, dated 13th March 1720, and proved by them 10th November 1724. Of John we know nothing for certain.[3] The marriage and offspring of Charles will be found in the continuation of Genealogy, App. A, that generation being apparently the last. Of Sir William's nephew, Robert Hedges, often mentioned in the Diary, some particulars will be found under his name in Part III of these Illustrations.

Finding so little recorded of the latter life of Sir William Hedges, we may take leave to transcribe a passage regarding him from the *Life and Errors of John Dunton.* This person published for a number of years a periodical called the *Athenian Mercury;* a sort of literary miscellany, consisting chiefly of queries and answers on all sorts of subjects, with occasional notices of books. It began in 1691, and went on, according to Dunton, to twenty folio volumes. The volumes, however, some of which I have seen in the British Museum, are not very big or thick folios. Dunton's mention is as follows:

[1] Parish Register.

[2] Mr. Tuckey writes from Cork:—"The first Lord Bantry was nephew of a Mr. Robert Hedges Eyre, a gentleman of very large estates in the Counties of Cork, Galway, and elsewhere, who left his Cork estates to Lord Bantry. That gentleman's Galway estates were inherited from the Eyre family, whose name was added. But, as I remember, he was always called (in speaking) Mr. Hedges."

[3] But see the App. A.

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"Sir WILLIAM HEDGES was pleased to tell me he was so well pleased with the *Athenian Mercuries,* that he would send several complete sets into the Indies, to his friends, and that he thought the publick, and himself in particular, so much obliged to me that I should be always welcome to his house, and that he would serve me to the utmost of his power." (*Life and Errors*, ed. 1818, vol. i, p. 194.)

The skeleton of facts regarding Hedges that we have collected hardly enables us to form an idea of the man; but this the Diary, to a considerable extent, does. The portrait, self-painted, if we discern rightly, is that of a weak and vain man, with little tact or prudence, very susceptible alike to little compliments and to real or supposed slights, and very unfit to contend with such a personage as Job Charnock. When he quitted Bengal he seems hardly to have been on good terms with more than two of the numerous servants of the Company with whom he had come in contact. When snubbed and slighted by his countrymen a little show of civility from the Dutch "Directore" quite delights him; but the Direktoor in turn speedily turns the cold-shoulder to the deposed Agent, and then Mr. Hedges says "here the Dutch Boer showed himself in his natural colours!"

On the other hand, we see no ground for considering Hedges himself to have been other than an upright and well-intentioned man, sincerely desirous of doing his duty by the Company, and of checking the abuses which were rife in the factories. Of the ill-judged act that brought on him the virulent ill-will of Sir Josia Child, viz., the detention of Beard's letter to that personage, the contents of which had been made known to him by Mr. William Johnson,[1] we hardly know enough to form a complete judgment; but no doubt he felt very hard driven, by the contumacy and ill-will of his colleagues and subordinates, when he took this rash step. A quotation which we give under Beard's name in Part III indicates how malignant and unscrupulous were the utterances regarding Hedges that came from his late colleagues in the Húglí Council. And the impression that we gather of the tone, moral and social, of the Company's servants in the Bay, is certainly a dismal one. It would have been hard to augur from their prevalent character at this time the ultimate emergence among the

[1] *Supra*, p. xviii.

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servants of the Company of such men as Elphinstone, Munro, and Malcolm, of Henry and John Lawrence, of Martyn and Heber, and Sir Bartle Frere, or such (to name others as bright in character though not in fame) as James Thomason, Sir Arthur Phayre, Edward Lake, John Becher, Reynell Taylor, Sir George Yule, and many more. There went, in truth, much unfragrant matter into the composition of the soil from which gradually grew up the British government in India, with all its good effects and qualities. And we cannot gainsay that the old Nawáb Sháista Khán had some good ground to go on when he told Mr. Pownsett "to begone out of his sight"; adding that "the English" (as he knew them) "were a company of base, quarrelling people, and foul dealers" (p. 153).

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APPENDICES TO NOTICES REGARDING SIR W. HEDGES.

APPENDIX A.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF SIR WILLIAM HEDGES.

At p. 260 *of "The Visitation of London, begun by Sr Henry St. George, Knt, Clarencieux King of Armes, Anno Domini* MDCLXXXVII" (*Book in College of Arms marked "K.* 9.")

JOHN LACY =

- 2. HENRY LACY als. HEDGES of Bourton in the Parish of Shrivenham in Co. Berks = Daur. of .. HARVEY
- 1. WILLIAM LACY als. HEDGES of Kingsdown in Comt. Wilts, born 5o Nov. 1571, died 13o Jan. 1645-6. = ALICE, dar. & Coheir of THOMAS HOSKINS of Chisleton in Co. Wilts, mard. 18 Dec. 1593
- CATHERINE bap. 16 Junii 1576
- 3. RICHARD, bap. 5o Mar. 1583.

Issue of William Lacy and Alice:

- 1. John. 2. Thomas 3. William 4. Tobit.
- ROBERT LACY als. HEDGES Esqr. of Youghall in Ireland born 28o Julii 1604, died 23o Dec. 1670 = CATHERINE dar. of EDWD. WAKEMAN of Mythe in Co. Glouc. Esqr. mard. 25o Nov. 1630, died 8o Decr. Ao 1649. ætat. 44.
- 1. Joane. 2. Martha. 3. Cecilia. 4. Philippa.

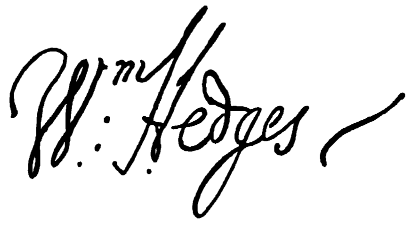
Issue of Robert Lacy and Catherine:

- 2. ROBERT LACY als. HEDGES of Burras in the Queens County in Ireland born 11o April 1637.
- 1. SUSANNA, eldest dar. of NICHOLAS VANACKER of Earith in Comt. Cantii Esq. 1st Wife, died 6o Julii 1683. = WILLIAM LACY als. HEDGES of the City of London Esqr. born 21o Oct. 1632 now living 12o Dec. Ao. 1687. = ANNE, dar. of PAUL NICOLL of Hendon Place in Co. Midd. Esqr. Relict of Col. JOHN SEARLE of Finchley in Co. Midd. mard. 21o. Julii 1687.

Issue of William Lacy and Susanna:

- 3 NICHOLAS, born & died 4o Julii Ao 1683.
- 2. ROBERT, born 26o Junii 1681 living 1687.
- 1. WILLIAM born 16o Feb. 1676 living 1687
- 1. CATHERINE, born 24o Feb. 1674 died 18o Dec. 1681.
- 2. SUSANNA born 26o Junii 1681, living 1687

(With the autograph signature)



Of the two elder sons (by Susanna Vanacker) we know nothing more than the mention of them in Sir W. Hedges' Will, unless one of them was "William Hedges, Esq., declared one of the members for Calne" in 1710 (see *Luttrell*, vi, 666). But he was more probably a son of Sir Charles Hedges (see next page and Part III). Nor can we say anything of the daughter Susanna; unless she be (as is probable) the Susanna Hedges registered as buried at Wanborough, October 7th, 1714. We may continue the genealogy by exhibiting the descendants of Sir William Hedges' second marriage as follows:—

SIR WILLIAM HEDGES (d. August 1701). = Dame ANNE (formerly Nicoll and Searle) died probably in 1724. Her will, dated 18th March 1720 (qu. 21?), was proved 10th Nov. in the former year.

1. JOHN HEDGES. Date of Birth not ascertained. Perhaps the person recorded in the P. Register of Finchley as "the Honble. John Hedges Esqr. Treasurer to the Prince of Wales, buried June 28th, 1737."
(See Lysons' *Environs of London*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, Pt. I, p. 221; and *Gentleman's Mag.*, N. S, vol. v (1836), p. 376. Lysons says: "He was son of Sir Charles Hedges, Sec. of State to Queen Anne"; but probably is in error.[2])

2. CHARLES HEDGES Died 1756 and buried at Stratton St. Margaret's. (See in App. B.) = CATHARINE, eldest Daughter and Coheir of BARTHOLOMEW TATE, of De la Pré Abbey, Co. Northampton. Died 1763 at Windsor, where she held a Court appointment. Buried at Stratton.[1]

1. JOHN HEDGES Lieut.-Col. 48th Foot. Died s. p., 1787.[1]

2. CHARLES HEDGES Died s. p. 1783. In a work quoted by Nichols (*Anecdotes*, iii, 670), he is termed "late of Windsor Castle". So it seems probable that he also held some Court appointment.[1] = ? ANNE, sister of First Lord Bayning.[1]

3. ANNE HEDGES = Hon. WILLIAM BATEMAN, M.P. for Gatton (Cousin of his wife, being grandson of Esther, wife of Sir James Bateman, and Sister of Dame Anne Hedges).[1]

4. SUSANNA HEDGES = Sir CECIL BISSHOP Bart., afterwards 12th Baron de la Zouche.

ROBERT LACY *alias* HEDGES of Burras (as on preceding page).

- A daughter, married Capt. T. RAYNES (see p. xlii; also in Pt. III).
- ROBERT HEDGES of the E. I. Co.'s service in the Bay (see Pt. III).

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[1] See *Gentleman's Magazine*, as quoted above under JOHN HEDGES.

[2] Luttrell notes, under 27th April 1708: "Place of Page of Honour given to a son of Sir *Charles* Hedges"; and it may seem probable that this Page eventually became a Court treasurer. But, on the other hand the connection of Sir *William's* second wife with Finchley may make it more likely that this John was her son.

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The following shows the relationship of Sir Charles Hedges, from information supplied by Mr. T. Tuckey of Cork:

HENRY LACY *alias* HEDGES, of Bourton (as above). = Daughter of HOLLOWAY of Cleeve, co. Wilts.

HENRY HEDGES of Wanborough, Wilts. = MARGARET, dau. of R. PLEYDELL of Childers, co. Berks.

HENRY HEDGES of New Sarum. — Sir CHARLES HEDGES, Secretary of State, etc. = ELEANOR, dau. of GEORGE SMYTH of London, Proctor.

ELEANOR. — HENRY. — WILLIAM. — CHARLES.

APPENDIX B.

MEMORIALS OF HEDGES FAMILY AT STRATTON ST. MARGARET'S, AND AT WANBOROUGH, WILTS.

At Stratton.

In the Church.

I. In North Aisle is a hatchment emblazoned with the arms of William Hedges and Anne his wife, viz., *Dexter*, on a field *azure*, 3 Swans' Necks erased proper (*Hedges*). *Sinister*, per pale, *gu.* and *az.* a chevron *ermine* between three lions rampant, *or* (*Hoskins*).

Crest: A Swan's Neck erased, ppr.

Below the arms is this inscription:

"Near underneath lie Interred the Bodies of William Lacy alias Hedges of Kingsdowne in the County of Wilts, Gent., and Alice his wife, one of the daughters of Thomas Hoskins of Chiselton in the said County of Wilts, Gent.

"He died the 10 January 1645, Aged 75.

"She died the 4 August 1662, Aged 89."

II. At the E. End of the North Aisle is a marble tablet with arms incised near the top. *Dexter* (for *Hedges*) as before, *Sinister* (on a field undecipherable), a saltire wavy *ermine* (for *Wakeman*). Inscription:

"Hic juxta requiescat CATHARINA HEDGES, uxor ROBERTI HEDGES alias LACY de Kingsdowne generosi—Filia EDWARDI WAKEMAN de Myth in Comitatu Glouc' Armiger.

"Quae postquam (ad annum ætatis 44um) Pietate et cultus assiduitate Deo, largitate et continua beneficentia egenis, morum innocua jucunditate omnibus, caram se Prebuisset;

"Ab hac vita ad meliorem commigravit octavo die Decembris, Anno D'ni 1649."

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III. In the North Aisle also is a painted board bearing the following:

"Sr. William Hedges of London Knight having bestowed two hundred Pounds in the Purchase of Lands within this Parish hath Settled the same for an Augmentation of this Vicaridge and better Maintenance of the Vicar and Vicars Widows for ever. 1693."

IV. In the Church porch, on a slab in the pavement, much worn by feet:

"(Coat of Arms).
1645
Ianuary the 10th Here Lyeth
deposited the Remaynes
of William Lacy al's
Hedges of Kingsdowne Gent
Anno Aetatis Suae 75
1645."

V. On a slab in pathway through churchyard:

"Here lieth the Body
of Alice Hedges the
Wife of William
Hedges of Kingsdow-
ne who departed
this life . . ." (obliterated).

These two slabs appear to have been transferred from the floor of the church.

VI. In the churchyard, at some distance east of the chancel, is a large sculptured altar-tomb (or what is called, I believe, a "box-tomb", in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, where it seems to have been a very favourite form), bearing on one side, in an oval, the inscription which follows. On the other side is a similar tablet, which no doubt was destined to receive an inscription in memory of Sir William Hedges, but which has been left blank. On one end of the tomb is an ornate coat of arms—*dexter* (*Hedges*); *sinister*, 3 cinq-foils on a bend[1] (*Vanacker*). This monument was originally placed against the chancel-wall, and no doubt over the vault mentioned in Sir W. H.'s Will.

Inscription:

"In Dormitorio substructo
Tandem quiescunt Ossa lectissimae foeminae
SUSANNAE
NICOLAI VAN ACKER de Erith in Comitate Cantii
Armigeri, filiae;
D. GULIELMI HEDGES alias LACY de Kingsdowne, in
agro Belgarum, Wiltonensi, Equitis aurati,

---

[1] Should be, field *or*, bend *gules*, cinq-foils *argent*.

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Conjugis charissimae
Una cum Reliquiis NICOLAI filioli sui, cujus
in puerperio abiit ad plures :
Quae prius HUGLEYAE in Sinu Bengalensi apud Indiam
Orientalem, pridie Nonas Julii A° MDCLXXXIII
inhumata
Tandem a pientissimo Marito inde delata
Sumptu modico, affectu autem magno,
heic in nativo solo condita sunt
Anno Χριστογονιας
MDCLXXXVII."

In the Parish Registry Books are the following entries:

"1640 Sept. 17
(married) Richard Hedges and Prudence Hazle.

Anno Dom. 1645."
"William Hedges was buried Jan. 26."

". . . . 1649.
"The wife of Mr. Robert Hedges was buried Decem. 10."

"Burials Anno 1662.
"Mary Hedges, Widow, was buried August 7, 1662."[1]

"Anno 1701.
* * *
Sr William Hedges Alderman of London was buryed Aug. 15th."
* * *

"Burials, 1755 (*i.e.*, 1756 ?).
"Charles Hedges Esqr. late of the City of Bath in a Vault erected by Sr William Hedges late of the City of London Knt. } March ye 23d."

In a Book of Parish Accounts and Memoranda, under 1627, in a list of persons assessed for "a taxe made", we find "Wm. Hedges", and "Mr. Hedges", and again, under 1634,

"The Names of all such as have land, or stocke w'ch were taxed for the reliefe of the poore by certaine men of the parish chosen to yt purpose and with ye consent of the Ouerseers May 15th 1634.

* * *

"William Hedges for Kingsdowne - - - 4*s.* 2*d.*
* * *
William Hedges for Syriack Kemble - - - 1*s.* 4*d.*
William Hedges for Widow Serieante - - 0*s.* 6*d.*"

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[1] This seems to be the widow of William Lacy, *alias* Hedges, and should be *Alice*, not Mary.

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"18th day of April 1637.

". . . . Henry Smart and William Hedges chosen to be churchwardens for the yeare following."

(1692)

"Memorandum that S[r] William Hedges built a Seat at the North door of ye Church June 28th 1692 appropriated to his Estate called Kings downe being in the Parish of Stratton St. Margaretts by the consent of ye Minister and Churchwardens of the said Parish in Witnesse whereof we have set our hands.

"JOHN NEALE Vic., etc."

"Memorandum that S[r] Wm. Hedges the Donour of the Estate to the Vicaridge and ye Vicars Widow Did desire to have a sermon preached yearly by ye Vicar upon Charity ye next Sunday to ye Sixth of July be it before or after."[1]

At Wanborough.

The two following slabs have apparently been removed from the church; they now form part of a paved path:—

1. "Here Lyeth ye Body of
Charles Hedges Esq.
Who departed this Life
23d Day of July
Anno . Dom .
1731."

---

2. "Dorothea
Henrici Hedges gen.
Filia
Tho. Brind de Fox Bridge
Relicta
Diebus et bonis operibus P . . . .
Obiit Jan . . . .
An° D[ni] 1723
Aetas . 80 ."

In the Parish Register:

"1711.

"William Hedges was buried July 27.

* * *

"Charles, ye son of ye Hon'ble Sr Charles Hedges, Feby 12th (*i.e.*, 1712)."

"1714.

"Sr Charles Hedges was buryed June 15th.
Susanna Hedges was buryed Oct. 7th."

"1722.

"The Widdow Hedges was Buryed Sept. 28."

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[1] Note, the 6th of July is the day of his first wife's death at Húglí. The sermon is in abeyance, though the endowment continues.

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APPENDIX C.

EXTRACT FROM REGISTER OF NOBILITY AND GENTRY IN OFFICE OF ARMS,

Vol. III, p. 335.

"Whereas William Hedges of London, Merchant, has produced several Deeds & other Proofs whereby it appeareth y^t His Ancestors were written and used the Surname of Lacy, & Lacy al's Hedges, And whereas the said William Hedges and Charles Hedges, Doct^r of Laws, have made application to mee that the said William Hedges and other the Descendants of Mr. John Lacy, deceased (Great Grandfather of the said William Hedges), may continue to bear and use ye Coat of Arms of the said Family of Lacy alias Hedges, And whereas by a Certificate under the Hand and Seal of John Neal, Vicar of the Parish Church of Stratton St. Margarets, in the County of Wilts, there is engraven on a Tombstone of the said Family a Coat of Arms, viz. Three Swans Heads erased, which said Coat has been anciently borne by the Family of Lacy, as appears by several Books in the College of Armes, and for other Considerations me hereunto moving; I, Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of England, etc., do hereby Order & appoint that the said Coat of Armes be duely allowed by the King of Arms of the Province to be borne & used by the said William Hedges & the Descendants of John Lacy, Great Grandfather of the said William. Requiring that the said Allowance, together with these presents, & ye said Certificate be duely entered by the Register in the College of Arms; & for so doing this shall be a sufficient warrant. Given under my hand & the seal of my office of Earl Marshall, the 28th day of November 1687. Annoq' R.Rs. Jacobi Sec^{di}. nunc Angliae etca. tertio.

(sd.) *Norfolke & Marshall.*"

Then follows the certificate from Mr. Neale, the Vicar, which transcribes the inscription on the slab given in Appendix B, No. IV, with a detail of the Coat of Arms thereon.[1]

[1] See also Gwillim's *Display of Heraldry*, 6th ed., 1724, p. 265.

APPENDIX D.

THE WILL OF SIR WILLIAM HEDGES.

"(*Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.*)

"In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

"In the name of God Amen.

"I William Hedges of London Knt. and Alderman being of sound and perfect memory Doe make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following vizt. First I give and bequeath my soule unto Almighty God my Saviour and Redeemer and my body to be buryed in the vault I caused to be made for my first wife adjoyning to the Parish Church of Stratton St Margarett near Highworth in Wilts in such decend manner as my executrix hereafter named shall think fitt 2 And as to my temporall estate and such goods debts and chattels as I have to bestow (my funerall expenses being first deducted) my will is and I doe hereby give and bequeath unto my eldest son William Hedges his heires and assignes all that my land and estate called or known by the name of the Plowland of Cloyne Preist in the County of Corke and Signorie of Inchequine in the Kingdome of Ireland and likewise all the right title and interest I have in the lease of Coolclough finny in the said County and Kingdome of Ireland in the tenure and occupac'on of my tenant Samuel Atkin 3 Item I give and bequeath unto my said eldest son William Hedges the two hundred pounds paid into His Majesties Exchequer in his name upon the Million Act and Fund of Annuityes 4 Item I give and bequeath unto my second son Robert Hedges the two hundred pounds paid into His Majesties Exchequer in his name upon the said Million Act and Fund of Annuityes 5 Item I give and bequeath unto my two younger sons John and Charles Hedges the two hundred pounds apiece paid into the Exchequer in their names upon the said Million Act and Fund of annuityes 6 Item I give and bequeath unto my only daughter Susanna Hedges the two hundred pounds paid into His Majesties Exchequer in her name upon the said Million Act and Fund of Annuityes 7 ~~Item I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Susanna Hedges the five thousand one hundred pounds stock I have in my name for my owne proper account in the Bank of England~~ 8 Item I give and bequeath unto my foure sons William Robert John and Charles Hedges all the remainder of my personall estate goods and chattells (except what hereafter is exprest) to be equally divided betwixt them 9 Lastly I give and bequeath unto my deare wife Dame Anne Hedges my coaches and horses and all my jewells and plate engraven

or impaled with her owne coate of armes together with the furnitures of her owne and my best chambers whom I make sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale this fifteenth day of Aprill one thousand six hundred ninety eight. WM HEDGES. Signed sealed published delivered and declared by the said Testator as and for his last Will and Testam' in the presence of us John Kent at the Hermitage in Wapping Jno Bodicott Scr' Lombard Street Phil Gray servant to Jno Chambers Scr.

A CODICILL to my foregoing Will May sixth one thousand six hundred ninety nine whereas I have twenty shares in the Mine Adventure in Wales with Sr. Humphry Mackworth whereof one third part is for account of my wife and at her disposal and the remaining two third parts are for my proper account I doe hereby give and bequeath my owne said two third parts with all the profitts and benefitts whatsoever arising thereby as alsoe the foure hundred pounds paid in and oweing to me as an adventurer unto my two youngest sons John and Charles Hedges to be equally divided betwixt them and if either of them dye before he comes to the age of one and twenty yeares Then I give all the said two third parts to the survivor of them Witness my hand the day and yeare above written WM HEDGES. *Memorandum* the within written Will together with the underwritten Codicill was on the fifth day of August Anno Domini one thousand seaven hundred and one republished by the Testator Sr. William Hedges after the severall obliterations and alterations were by his direction made in the 2d 5th 7th 8th and 9th paragraphs of the said Will and the same Will soe altered together with the said Codicill was by him declared to be his last Will in the presence of us who as witnesses thereof have hereunto subscribed our names before the said Testator. JA. BATEMAN. ROBERT WAKEMAN. JO. NICOLL."

"Probatum fuit huj'mdi Testamentum apud London cum Codicillo annexo coram Veñli . viro Willelmo Clements Legum Doctore Surrogato Veñlis . et egregij viri Domini Richardi Raines Militis Legum etiam Doctoris Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis sive Com̃issarij l̃time . constituti vicessimo die mensis Augusti Anno Domini Mill̃imo Septingesimo Primo Juramento Dñæ Annæ Hedges Relictæ dicti Defuncti et Executricis in eodem Testamento nominat . cui com̃issa fuit adm̃strac'o omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter adstr'ando eadm ad sancta Dei Evangelia Jurat."

(Copied at Somerset House.)

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APPENDIX E.

LETTERS FROM WM. HEDGES TO SIR HENRY JOHNSON, Knt. (*Senior*).

(*In British Museum Additional MSS. No.* 22,186, *being* "*Miscellaneous Letters to Sir Henry Johnson, Knt., and Sir Henry Johnson, Knt., M.P., his son.*")

No. I.[1]

Aboard y^e^ *Defence* in Ballasore Road,[2]
Jan. 30, 1682.

Having wrott you at large already by this conveyance, this is chiefly to acknowledge ye receipt and great favour of y^r^ most curteous acceptable present of a hh^d^ of Strong Bear, wch you were pleased to send by Capt Gayer, for wch I returne you my most humble thanks, and hope It may some time be in my power to give you a better testimony of my gratitude.

You did not give me ye least notice of this y^r^ curteous present by a line or two under y^r^ hand, wch was ye reason it came no sooner to my hands (comonly of dangerous consequence) till ye Capt dispairing of my ord^r^, sent it me vp to Hughly before I knew you were pleased to present it to me.

I am very sorry for ye unhappy difference y^t^ has arisen betwixt Mr. Beard & y^r^ ingenious hopefull Sonne Mr. Wm Johnson, vpon some

[1] The dates of the two letters require some explanation.

No. I, dated "Ballasore Road, January 30th, 1682" (*i.e.*, 1683), is holograph in Hedges' handwriting.

No. II consists (1) of a transcript in a clerk's handwriting, but signed by Hedges, of a letter dated "Hughly 16th Jan. 1682" (*i.e.*, 1683); (2) of a transcript, in the same clerk's hand as No. I; (3) of a letter in Hedges' holograph, dated "Ballasore, 15th February 1682." All this No. II is on one sheet, consisting partly of *duplicates* of letters gone by previous ships, and partly of the additional letter of 15th February. But by mistake of Sir H. Johnson No I has been endorsed—

"No. 3 *A Coppy of No.* (2) *from Mr. Hedges consarning Mr. Beard*, etc.

"Mr. Charnock, Mr. Naylor, &ca. To be shown if ther be occasion to vindecate my Sons proceedings."

No. II is endorsed—

"No. (2) Jan. 30th 1682. Ballasore, William Hedges."

The endorsements have been transposed.

[2] See *Diary*, p. 65.

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slight occasion of your Sonn's not shewing him so great respect as Mr. Beard expected, but principally for Mr. Johnson's going & associating some times (as I conceive) wth Interlopers by my direction, wherein he has been so successfull as to find out the said Interlopers principall factor for their Raw Silke & Taffaties at Cassambazar, Mr. Naylor[1] by name, & more than probable suspicion of Mr. Charnock's confedracy wth him, especially considering ye great delay of ye Honble Company's goods coming downe this yeare to ye hazard of ye Shipps loosing their passage about the Cape; if this shippe ye *Defence* getts home, I much fear y *Society* will be forced to a winter's voyage; this we durst not acquaint Mr. Beard by reason of his extraordinary great intimacy wth Mr. Charnock, but if ye Compa should be so vnhappy as not to beleeue me, yr Sonne, & Capt Heath, they will certainly be much more vnhappy in these parts then euer they have been; on ye Contrary if we may have any Credit & they will be pleased to displace Mr. Charnock, setling me & ye Agency wth yr son at Cassambazar, and give me power to displace such factors wch I doe not find act to ye Company's most advantage, as I have hitherto done them most eminent faithful service in recovery of their lost Priuiledges, & have as great assurance as can be in this Country of gaining a Phirman & settling all vpon a better foundation then euer we had before, so (God willing) I will make this ye most prosperous flourishing trade in ye world, & make no doubt in ye least of routing ye Interlopers, but a house thus diuided as we are amongst ourselves can neuer stand; & if I should be so forsaken by ye Compa whom I have served so faithfully wth all my heart & strength & wth gt successe, as is to all mens enuy, or admiration, & procured the *Defence* and *Society* to be laden wch they could neuer haue been wthout the irreparable losse of our Priuiledges & paying of a vast sume for custome; If after all this I should be discountenanced, because I know some pittifull rascals write home against me, it would cut me to ye heart, & I am confident ye consequence of it would be so pernicious to the Honble Compa (whose prosperity I most earnestly desire to promote, & see prosper in these parts) yt they will neuer recouer it in our age; and you may certainly value yr stock more or lesse, as you find ye Company's resolutions taken concerning ye Bay; this being ye most improuable gainfull trade in ye Indies; and I can now boldly & truly say I am better acquainted wth ye gouernment of ye Country then any of the other party can possibly be, whose extraction & quality are looked vpon & esteemed so mean, that they will not be admitted into ye Nabobs presence at any time to speak or argue (as I did almost dayly) wth him; for my part I have done my duty to giue you & some other friends notice of this Rock, & 'twould heartily grieue me to see ye Compa split

[1] See pp. 78 *seqq.*

vpon it; My great comfort is I defy enuy itselfe to say I'm dishonest or negligent in my masters concernes, but for louing & respecting y^r^ sonne & some others, who respect & loue me better then those who envy my disappointing them of their hopes (as Mr. Charnock) of being Agent, or one who by giuing out I am certainly designed to be displaced in 2 yeares (to make others haue a little esteem of me) & y^t^ he is to be Agent in my roome (Mr. Beard); I thinke is very naturall, & pardonable in any man; I refer you to your sonne for a more perfect relation of all occurrences, & remaine S^r^

Y^r^ most obliged humble Ser^t^.

WM. HEDGES.

Capt Raynes y^r^ Nephew hauing marryed my neece, my Brother Hedges his daughter of Ireland,[1] my enemies haue ye malice to compare it to Capt Pitts marrying Mr. Vincent's neece wch has been ye occasion of so much prejudice to ye Comp^a^; but all men are not alike, both of vs, & y^r^ sonne too, abhor all such treachery & false dealing.

Sr Since I wrott ye foregoing letter, y^r^ sonne has had ye sight of a letter written by M^r^. John Beard wch he has comunicated to me; I take God to witnes & declare vpon ye faith of an honest man, there is scarce one word relating to me or my wife that has truth in it; it is stuffed up wth such notorious falsities y^t^ I stand amazed y^t^ such a professor of Religion & honesty should be ye auther of it, haveing plaid ye Hyppocrite & dissembled so hansumly wth me, professing so great kindnes, respect & affection to me y^t^ I can scarce beleeue my owne eyes when I read it. I see he has written against me by y^e^ *Williamson* & *Nathaniel* on y^e^: 20: Vlt^o^. Lett ye euent of it be what it will, I cannot helpe it, Gods will be done; I see ye Comp^a^ are apt to beleeve & credit euery rascall vpon his owne bare information, as they haue done those two notoriously knowne debauched mad men Thomas Bromley, now dead, & John Thomas.[2] God knowes I neuer had the least quarrell or difference wth M^r^. Beard in all my life, either before or since my coming from S^t^. Jago; nor has there been any conspiring, or Caballing against him, as he has declared: I cannot run through euery perticular, not hauing time to giue it an answer; But God willing when y^r^ sonne & I returne to Hugly we will call M^r^. Beard to a Public examination, & make no question but he will most readily & willingly acknowledge his fault, & make a Public recantation, & therefore I am of opinion tis not good to deliuer ye letter till we send home his recantation or our pro-

[1] "My brother Hedges of Ireland"—viz., Robert Hedges of Burras in Queen's County—see App. A. There is a funny letter from Capt. Raynes regarding this marriage, which will be found under his name in Part III of these Illustrations.

[2] See something of John Thomas under his name in Part III.

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ceedings vpon it.[1] Howeuer, y^r sonne tells me he will leaue it to y^n & Sr Jeremy Sambrookes considera'ion to doe in it as you shall thinke conuenient:

I am S^r

Y^r most humble & obliged Seruant,

Wm. Hedges.

I have sent you an Antilope by y^e *Defence*, of wch I pray y^r acceptance.

No. II.

Hugly 16: Jany. 1682.

Hond. S^r.

My last to you was the 15th ult^o from Decca, which I intended to send you by the *Williamson* or *Nathaniel*, but the[se Ships] being both gone for the Coast and ffort, before my letters arived [at] Ballasore, it now goes by the *Society*, who is to follow this Ship, the *Defence*, in 8: or 10: dayes at farthest, they will both be very rich, God send them in Safety, & not to loose their passage. If you should be informed your Soñe frequented Interlopers Company, it was by my advice, to learne & make discoveryes wh^ch he has effected to good purpose, by finding out M^r. Naylors villany, and great Suspitions of M^r. Charnocks conspiracy with him. This being all my time permits at present I comitt you and yours to the divine protection & Remaine

[Then follows transcript of No. I, but without the long addendum which begins "*Sr. Since I wrott the foregoing letter*", etc.; and then as follows, in holograph of Hedges]:

Ballasore: 15 ffebr. 1682.

Hond. S^r.

This is chiefly to confirme ye foregoing Coppy of what I wrott you by y^e *Defence*, who departed hence ye 1: instant, a very rich Shippe, God send her a prosperous passage. The 3 Interlopers went away ye 5 Detto. I wish Mr. Charnocks delaying to send downe ye Cassumbazar goods doe not occasion y^e *Societys* loosing her passage about ye Cape.

Y^r Sonne has had ye good fortune to discover to me some great enemies of his & mine in this Country, who I plainly perceive would stick at nothing to worke our ruine, & blast both our Credit and reputation, but having got their owne letters to testifie against them,

[1] There is no indication in the Diary that Mr. Hedges carried out this intention of calling Mr. Beard to account. Nor, indeed, does Hedges, in the Diary, mention the transaction until the arrival of President Gyfford from Madras to depose him (p. 158, and p. 186).

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they will be forced (if they have so much grace and ingenuity [in] them) to disowne all they have said, and beg our pardon; or we [shall] compell them to prove what they have wrott against us w[ch] [I] know tis impossible for them to doe; and then we shall prove [them] the most dissembling, false, Hypocriticall Rascals y[t] ever lived [in] this Country. I beg you to be refer'd to y[r] Sonnes relation for [a] perfect and full Acco[t] of these transactions, w[ch] have afflicted [us] both so much, y[t] were it not for our owne innocency, & y[e] assura[nce] we have of making these men appeare infamous Villaines, our Spirits w[ould not be] able to bear it.

I am Dear S[r]

Y[r] most affectionat

& obliged humble [Serv[t]]

WM. HEDGES.

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II.

DOCUMENTARY MEMOIRS OF JOB CHARNOCK.

THIS is not only one of the personages most prominent, and most inauspicious for the diarist, in Hedges' Journal, but he is also one of the most memorable figures in the early history of British India. Yet he figures as yet in no Biographical Dictionary, nor have I been able to ascertain anything regarding his origin.

He had arrived in India in 1655 or 1656, and though not, it would appear, sent from England in the Company's service, he before long found admittance into it, and we read his name in a nominal roll entered in the *Court Books* under date 12-13th January 1657 (*i.e.*, N.S. 1658) as junior member of the Council at Kásimbázár, thus: "JOB CHARNOCK, Fourth, (Salary) 20£."

His original engagement was for five years (which was perhaps the general custom); and a memorial of his, from Patna apparently, dated 23rd February 1663-4, preserved among the I.O. Records,[1] shows that he had intended then to terminate his service and return to England, but at the same time he expresses his willingness to remain, if appointed Chief of the Pattana (Patna) Factory. This appointment, no doubt, was made; for in 1664 he appears incidentally in the records as holding that position, in which he continued till 1680 or 1681.[2] In 1671

[1] I. O. *Combined Volumes*, vol. iv.

[2] There are several autograph letters of Charnock's, when at Patna, in the India records, but I do not find one of interest enough to print. Such are "O. C. 2927. To Mr. Jonathan Trevisa, dated Pattana, 19th March 166½"; "2935. To Mr. Henry Aldworth, Pattana, 13th August 1662"; "2997. To H. Aldworth, Oct. 12, 1663". There are for a long time subsequently very few communications of any kind from Patna extant. From "Hugly, Jany ye 19, 1673," I find a letter from Mr. Walter Clavell to Matthew Gray, the Deputy President at Surat, in which there is a long rehearsal of the troubles and interferences with the "Petre" trade, caused by the conduct of the Nabob of Patna, "Ibrahim Chaan". Till his coming, "business went very well on in Singee and thereabouts, where we make our Petre Investments; but since that time, he being a bookish Nimmauzzee, his officers have taken advantage of their master's supinenes in his other affaires, and have almost ruined Pattana," and Mr. Clavell writes, that, "haveing compared notes with the Counsell of the Bay, and haveing the concurrence of all the Factories here, I have, with their consent,

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(25th October) an order of the Court increases his salary to £40; and a month later he is informed that "in case he continues in the Company's service, as they have had respect to him in the increase of his salary, . . . so they will further consider him as to his past Services". From this it would seem that Charnock's energy had already made an impression on the authorities at the India House; possibly also he may have had some strong friend there. In 1675 the Court write to Fort St. George, to which the Bengal factories were subordinate:

"Upon the commendation you give us of Mr. JOB CHARNOCK, we have resolved that for his encouragement, during his stay in our service at PATTANA to give him 20£ per annum as a gratuity,"

i.e., what would now be called a personal allowance. In 1676 (15th December), in writing to the Fort, they suggest that Mr. Charnock might be a fit person to employ at the Delhi Court to negotiate for a new "*Phirmaund*", regarding exemption from customs. There is no indication that he ever went on such a mission, but the *Vakíl* employed at Delhi, it would seem to little purpose, was under his immediate supervision, as appears from various letters. He was also the main channel of news from the Court of Delhi and Upper India generally.

Here are some samples, or *musters*, as he would have called them, of his correspondence with the Húglí Council:

6th July 1678:

"Here is a flying report that the eldest prince is dead. That he was sick is certaine, and that MULTAN is taken by the Pattans, so that the King will have work enough to doe with them, * * the whole Kingdome lying in a very miserable feeble condition, the great ones plundering and Robbing the feabler, and no order nor method of Government amongst them. The Kings *hookim* is of as small vallue as an ordinary Governour's."

21st July 1678:

"In our opinion the summe of money demanded (to get a '*Phirmaund*') is very large, considering all circumstances. Had it bin another King, as SHAJEHAWN, whose *phirmaund* and *Hasbullhookims* were of such great force and binding that none dare to offer to make the least exception against any of them, it might have seemed somewhat reasonable; but with this King ORAMSHAW tis the contrary, none of which in the least (carry?) feare with the people, all his Governours making small accompt thereof."

We are not accustomed to think so lightly of Aurangzeb's authority!

28th October 1678:

"We shall send the Copies of those papers that you now sent us, to get *chopt* by the great *Codjee*, who perhaps may doe it for a bribe, wee having formerly in PATTANA gotten 2 Coppies of this Kings *Phirmaund* of 2 per cent°., without showing him the originall, *chopt* by the same *Codjee* for a bribe."

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given orders to Mr. CHARNOCK to dispatch away some able Vaqueel to Delly, that he may endeavour a removeall of these troubles which wee receive from the Droga and the new Divan" (O. C. 3934).

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In 1678 Charnock was offered by the Government of Fort St. George the place of fifth in Council there. This he declined, considering it did not meet his claims, and probably unwilling to quit "the Bay", where he looked for his advancement. In a "general", *i.e.*, a public letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, dated SINGE,[1] 28th October 1678, it is written:

"We have observed what your worshipfull Agent and Councell of the Fort have inserted in a clause of theire letter you sent us in yours, concerning JOB CHARNOCK, to which he replyes that he is noe wayes yet satisfiyed, nor can he in the least conceive that the 5 of Councell theire belongs to him, and therefore desires theire excuse for his not proceeding thither, he being not a little troubled to see such hard measure afforded him from thence, by depriving him thus of the right which hath so many yeares since, and doth now at present belong to him, and therefore desires they would be pleased to take into further consideration, being allmost confident that his Hono^ble Employers will not suffer him to be thus neglected and unregarded after his 20 years service in theire imployment, but afford him his right station."[2]

The favour in which Charnock stood with the Court went on increasing, and in 1679 (3rd January) we find them writing to Fort St. George:

"Mr. JOB CHARNOCK having done us, as we esteem it, good and faithfull service, and it being his right, according to our former settlement, to be next in degree to Mr. VINCENT, we do hereby appoint him to be Chief of CASSUMBAZAR and 2 of Councell in the Bay, and consequently to succeed in the Cheifship at the Bay, according to our Rules."

The like is repeated on the 3rd December following, with the addition:

"And this wee order notwithstanding any generall rule that wee have given to you our Agent in your Commission."

According to Bruce (*Annals*, ii, 450), the Court wrote about this time to Fort St. George, as quoted by Mr. Barlow at p. 40 below, that they would rather dismiss the whole of their other Agents than Mr. Charnock should not be the Chief of Kásimbázár. This passage I have not been able to find in the Court's letters, though what I do quote contains much of similar bearing.

And the resentment of the Court is again and again expressed against Mr. Streynsham Master, Governor and Agent at Fort St. George, because he had not carried out their express order and Mr. Charnock's right, by putting him into the Kásimbázár Chiefship.

It appears to have been resolved, under Madras Consultation of 12th July 1679, that Mr. Charnock should have the appointment in question;

[1] *Singe* or *Singee* is the date-place of many of the Patna letters, as the name of the English residency there. One letter gives the alternative name "or *Johnabad*". I cannot identify it.

[2] *Letter in I.O. Records*, R.R., *c.* 1.

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but, on his own representation, he was to start the annual saltpetre cargoes from Patna, before coming down. In November of the same year, when Agent Master was on visitation of the Bengal factories, Mr. Charnock, whilst accepting the Kásimbázár appointment, reported that he still could not come down at once. On this he is informed (15th November) that his excuses cannot be admitted, and that if he does not come at once he cannot have the appointment. The delay continues, and on the 15th December a letter is written by the Agent and the Húglí Council to Charnock, censuring him, and refusing to accept his excuses; stating that the Agent had been much inconvenienced by Charnock's not coming in time to meet him at Kásimbázár, "which Factory is the greatest Concerne of the Honble Company in these parts"; that as a man of great experience is required, and as Mr. CHARNOCK is designed by the Company to succeed the Chief in the Bay, he is now appointed 2nd at Húglí, there to learn the whole business of the Bay, and to be the better fitted to succeed. He was to hand over charge at Patna, and join at Húglí before the end of January 1680.[1]

This is the treatment of Charnock—not so very unreasonable—which the Court so greatly resents, and harps upon. They write to the Fort, 5th January 1681:

"Wee are in all your Letters troubled with long Sections concerning the method of succession; You make the Doctrine more intricate then the Text; and at last a Use shamefully contradicting to either of them; as you did in the case of our old and good servant Mr. JOB CHARNOCK, who had the right indisputably of succession (as you call it) besides our express order, to be Chief of CASSAMBUZAR. A person that has served us faithfully above 20 years, and hath never, as we understand, been a prowler for himselfe, beyond what was just and modest: Who therefore, We are resolved, shall not live unrewarded by us. Our Letters were plaine enough, that he should be Chief of CASSAMBUZAR, and at the same time Second of the Bay in degree, and to succeed Mr. VINCENT as Chief of the Bay. . . . His staying at PATTANA to dispatch the Petre-boats, was his care and his duty to our Service . . . . and therefore Agent MASTERS did very ill, and contrary to his duty and the trust reposed in him, in taking hold of that pretence, to dispossess an honest man of the just reward of his fidelity, due to him by all rights. Wee do therefore require our Agent GYFFORD and Councill, that upon your arrivall at the Fort, you doe immediately dispatch an Express to Mr. CHARNOCK with the contents of so much of this Letter as concerns him and our affaires at PATTANA; ordering him thereon, with all possible expedition to settle our affaires there, and leave them in a regular and due method; and from thence presently repair to CASSAMBUZAR to take the Remaines from Mr. Littleton and possession of our Factory and affaires, as Chief of CASSAMBUZAR."

And again, 18th January 1681:

[1] These particulars are from *Notes and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort St. George*, printed at Madras, 2nd Series, 1871, pp. 16, 57, 58, 67-68. I shall quote these again as *Madras Notes*.

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"We have received a letter from Mr. JOB CHARNOCK of his being at last setled Chief at CASSAMBUZAR, and are confirmed in our opinion of the neglect of our positive orders made concerning him, and the injury he thereby received, and are fully satisfied that our respects to him are well placed, and on that account would have you treat him as one of our most ancient and best servants."

On the appointment of Hedges to the Bay, they are quite apologetic to Charnock for thus superseding him (18th November 1681):

"This the necessity of our affairs compelled us unto at this time, and not any diffidence or dislike we have of Mr. JOB CHARNOCK, of whose fidelity and care in our service We have had long and great experience, and We think the place he is in already of Chief of CASSUMBUZAR doth not much differ from our now Agent's, but only in Title and precedency, and do hereby confirm Mr. JOB CHARNOCK aforesaid, our Chief of CASSUMBUZAR, Second of the Bay, and to succeed Agent of the Bay in case of the death or absence of our now elected Agent Mr. HEDGES . . . "

(Nevertheless, he did *not* succeed Mr. Hedges, as we shall see.)

Six months later, writing for lading to Húglí (26th May 1682):

"We depend upon the integrity and care of our good old servant Mr. CHARNOCK to provide us the forementioned quantity of shellack, of the very best sort and at the cheapest rate."

Again (20th September 1682):

"We know Mr. PECOCK of PATTANA was a Creature of our late Chief (VINCENT), and therefore we lay no great stress on the commendation given him . . . . . We did many years since order our Chief and Councill of HUGELY to direct the providing of such goods there, but it was never done, which we attribute to the animosities which they allwaies had against honest Mr. CHARNOCK."

It was evidently *de rigueur* at the East India House never to refer to Mr. Charnock without some eulogistic expression; in fact, the tone in regard to him is quite unique in the old Court's correspondence.

It is not wonderful that Hedges got broken by collision with a vessel so freighted with the Company's benedictions, and so fortified with the sense of its own value. But I need not follow the history of the feud between the two. Mr. Barlow has abstracted it with admirable terseness at p. 3.

Though Hedges was deposed and disgraced, Mr. Charnock did not succeed him as Chief of the Bay. The Court had apparently made promises to two persons; and Mr. Beard became Chief in the Bay (though now in subordination to the Fort), and held the office till his death, not many months later.

We have seen that Hedges and others urged upon the Company that their trade in Bengal would never prosper till they came to a quarrel with the native authorities there, got rid of the growing exactions, and

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were established in a defensive settlement, with ready access to the sea.[1]

The feeling was no doubt much the same at bottom as that which, in recent years, made the mercantile society at Rangoon, or a large part of it, clamorous for a breach with Upper Burma, long before real political dangers made that breach inevitable.

[1] The following extract from "Abstract of a letter from the English Councell of the Bay of Bengall in India" (without date, but of Dec. 26, 1682) shows more completely and clearly than Hedges' Diary how far trouble with the Native Government had gone, even at the time of that Agent's arrival from Europe.

" . . . Agent HEDGES . . . found all Trade interdicted except the Company would pay Custome both for goods and Treasure, till by a present to the Governour the Treasure was permitted on Shoar; but not Suffered to bee sent unto the Subordinate ffactories. When afterwards, by presents, it was permitted, it was Stopt at several places, to the great damage of the Company; and when the money was arrived at Cassambusar, the Governour there made proclamation that noe Merchant there should buy any Silver of them, which forced our Agent to send it to the Mint, and there it was stopt Againe.

"Mr. HARVEY at Dacca with great charge gott the order reversed, for our paying of Custome, for 7 months only, which the Governour at Cassambuzar refused to obey, and caused great affronts to be put, by all Governours and Sub Governours upon our Nation, Our passes refused, and our ffactors desired to send Provisions to other of our ffactories within the Native Officers Passes. When all means failed to redress these grievances, the Agent goes to the Nabob at Dacca, with great presents, [and] is pursued by the Governour's Order. Two boats with Cloth seized and brot back to the Custome House. The Agent rescues the boats, and is followed by land and water; Proclamation is made that no boatman or steersman shall serve the English. . . . . When the Agent saw he could not go up by the Natives boats he came back and took 2 of the Company's small sloopes . . . and is pursued by the Chiefe *Cauzee* or Justice, but escapes. In the interim 1000 tons of Peter arrived from Pattana, but was Stopt, and all other business, the Governour demanding 50,000 rups. Customs, threatning to sell our Peter and pay himselfe, or to surprize the ffactory. The Councell sent him word to doe his worst. The Governour sends for the Company's Vakeel, as if hee would show him kindness, but put him in a prison, and beats him cruelly every day to force a Writing in our name . . . and sends word to the ffactory that they would beat him till they killed him, if he paid not the mony... The Governour.... released him, after he had beat out of him 5000 rups. and makes proclamation that no Moor nor Gentue should serve the English, nor buy silver of us under 10 p. cent. Custome, upon which dollars fell from 208 to 190 Rups. for 100 Dollars.

"The Agent arrives at Dacca the 25 Octr and had great respects from the Nabob, and the more because he spoke Turkish and Arabick, which they delight in"; and so forth.

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Even in the letter of the Court, which has been quoted at pp. xxii-iv, though they raise objections to the particular proposals which had been set before them, they show that similar ideas were fermenting in their minds, and they put forward a scheme for getting possession of Chittagong.[1] To this scheme they recur fondly again and again in succeeding letters, and at length it took concrete shape in the despatch to India, with the sanction of the King (James II), of the largest force which the Company had ever yet displayed in the Indian seas.

The detail of the events in the Bay of Bengal, which immediately preceded and followed the despatch of this squadron, is by no means always clear, for several important reports from India of these details have perished, and the communications from the Court *to* India suggest the existence of various blanks in our knowledge. The narrative, as given by Orme in his second volume, is, in the main, consistent with the allusions in the letters from England, and in connection with this important part of Charnock's career I may make use of it occasionally to supplement the original documents from the I. O. Records. But my object is mainly to give the narrative as it comes out in these, which, to the best of my knowledge, have never been printed.

The Secret Committee which had been named for the management of this warlike venture—consisting of Sir Joseph Ash (the Governor of the Company), Sir Josia Child (Deputy Governor), Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and Mr. Joseph Herne—wrote as follows to Bengal, 14th January 1686 :

"We . . . have examined seriously the opinion of the most prudent and experienced of our Commanders, all which doe Concenter in this one opinion (and to us seeming pregnant Truth), vizt.: That since those Governors have by that unfortunate Accident, and audacity of the Interlopers, got the knack of trampling upon us, and extorting what they please of our estate from us, by the besieging of our Factorys, and stopping of our Boats upon the GANGES, they will never forbare doeing so till we have made them as sensible of our Power, as we have of our truth and Justice, and we after many Deliberations are firmly of the same Opinion, and resolve with God's blessing to pursue it."

(The ships are to take on board at Balasore the Agent and principal men of the Council of the Bay, and then to arrest all vessels of the Mogul, whilst awaiting the Nabob's answer to the letter which was to

[1] Chittagong had been a port of considerable importance in the sixteenth century, and was known familiarly to the Portuguese as *Porto Grande*, (the *Porto Piqueno*, or "Little Haven" of Bengal, being Satgáon, not far from Húglí). It was apparently the *City of Bengala*, of some old maps and narratives. Lying on the frontier of Arakan, it had been annexed by the king of that country towards the end of the sixteenth century, but had been recently (1666) reconquered for the Delhi Empire by the forces of Sháista Khán Súbadár of Bengal.

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be sent to him. The squadron was such as is detailed in a note,[1] and carried six complete companies of soldiers, with the lieutenants and inferior officers. No captains were sent, as, according to the old system of the Company, the Agent and Council of the Bay were to be the captains of the companies, the Agent being also Colonel, the 2nd. Lieut. Colonel, 3rd. of Council Major, etc.

If no agreement could be come to with the Nabob, then the bulk of the force was to proceed to Chittagong)

"where, after summons, if the Fort, Town, and Territory thereunto belonging be not forthwith delivered to our Lieutenant Colonel JOB CHARNOCK . . . we would have our forces land, seize and take the said Town, Fort, and Territory by force of arms . . .

"Above all things, we would have you very carefull, that no violence or injury be offered to women, children, or any innocent people that doe not hostilely oppose you, and particularly, That you do not suffer any prejudice to be done to Churches, Mosques, Pagodaes, or other publick Places where God is worshiped, or pretended to be worshiped."

(Then they are to add art to nature by making the captured place "as strong as the wit and invention of man can extend to") . . .

"We doe appoint our aforesaid Second of our Council, JOB CHARNOCK, Esqr., to be Governour of Our Fort, Town, and Territory of CHYTTEGAM, in the absence of our Agent and Colonel, JOHN BEARD, Esqr."

The Court were not yet aware of Mr. Beard's death, but they evidently did not much expect their old keeper of the Surat warehouse to head the expedition. And even if he should, they were particular to enjoin that

"Mr. CHARNOCK doe go along with him as his Second, whose assistance in

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[1] Besides the *Rochester* (65) and the *Rochester* frigate (12), which were already despatched to India, and the Company's small vessels in the Ganges:

Ships.	Guns.	Seamen.
Beaufort, John Nicholson, Admirall	70	300
Nathanael, John Mason, Vice-Adm.	50	150
Royal James, (Sir) John Wetwang, Capt.	50	170
Tonqueen, Robert Knox do. (The Ceylon Captive.)	24	50
Loyal Captain, Francis Elder do.	16	30
Beaufort Frigate	12	20
Nathanael Frigate	12	20

And all the Company's sloops and small vessels at Fort St. George and Priaman, which were ordered to be sent to join the squadron, well manned and armed.

Frigate had not then acquired its modern sense. It was a light vessel, built for speed, and attached to the big men-of-war as an aid.

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that place we would by no means want, in regard of his fidelity and long experience in the language and Customes of that country."[1] . . .

" But you must always understand that though we prepare for and resolve to enter into a Warr with the Mogull (being necessitated thereunto) our ultimate end is peace, for as we have never done it, so our Natures are most averse to bloodshed and Rapine, which usually attend the most just warre. But we have no Remedy left, But either to desert our Trade, or we must draw that Sord his Majesty hath intrusted us with, to Vindicate the Rights and Honour of the English Nation in INDIA."

Long before the date of this letter, however, matters had become critical in the relations between the Company's agents in Bengal and the Nabob's Government; and, indeed, this state of ferment had begun even before Hedges had been removed, as may be seen from passages in his Diary (*e.g.*, under January 12 and December 14, 1684, pp. 147, 171). The native merchants and *paik'ārs*, or intermediate dealers, employed in the business of Kásimbazar factory, made a large claim against Charnock and his colleagues there, which the local *Kází* adjudged against the latter to the amount of 43,000 Rs.; a judgment which the Nabob supported, in default of payment formally summoning Job by a *yasáwal*, or usher, to appear before him at Dacca. This summons Charnock had no intention of complying with, and prolonged efforts were made, both before the local Faujdár and at Dacca, to get the decision modified. The factory at Kásimbazar was *boycotted* (to use an anachronistic expression), and when Agent Beard died (28th August 1685),[2] and Charnock was urgently called to Húglí to take up the reins, the factory was watched by troops to prevent his escaping. All this appears in great detail in a Book of the Kásimbazar Consultations, which survives at the India Office,[3] but which terminates with the date 30 Novr 1685, and is succeeded by a hiatus just as the interest comes to a height. Nor do we know how the knot at Kásimbazar was cut, or how Charnock made his escape. We only know that he reached Húglí between 16th and 27th April 1686. A "general" or public letter of the latter date from Húglí to Balasore is the first that bears his signature, and it alludes to his recent arrival.[4] And Mr. Charnock is at Húglí when Orme's story opens:

"The conduct of this war was entrusted to JOB CHANOCK, the Company's principal Agent at Hughley, a man of courage, without military experience, but

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[1] It appears from the "Secret Instructions to Capt. Joseph Haddock of the Ship *Princess of Denmark*", without date, but of about October 1687, that the Agent at Húglí (*i.e.*, Charnock) was then appointed "Lieutenant General, Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief for the present Expedition, of all the Company's Land and Sea forces."

[2] See a letter from Húglí Council to Balasore, dated 29th August 1685, O.C. No. 5406.

[3] *I.O. Records*, TT.8.

[4] 5487 in O.C. Vol. xlvi.

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impatient to take revenge of a Government from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having not long before been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob.[1] One vessel of the fleet was lost; the largest ship, with another, were not able to make their passage: and the rest did not arrive before the month of October 1686; by which time a body of the Nabob's troops, probably from some suspicion of the intended hostilities, had surrounded the factory at Hughley. CHANOCK therefore, on the arrival of the ships, ordered the troops, about 460 men, to come up the river to his assistance."

I now continue the story from the letters of Charnock and Ellis.

(From a letter to Sir JOHN CHILD, General &ca. and his Council at Surat, dated "Hughley, 24 9ber, 1686.")

* * * * * * *

"6. Wee shall not inlarge on our Grievances, or the present transactions with the Government, haveing sent you Copies of our last to the Rt. Honble. Company, wherein they are wholly comprehended, bearing date the 14th October, by the *Persia Merchant*, who sailed hence the 20 ditto.

* * * * * * *

"7. We . . . . proceed to give you an account of some further transactions betwixt the Government and us in a late Skirmish at HUGHLY, occasioned by the Governour's Severity practised against us daily.

"8. For at that time the arrivall of our Forces (tho' Small) had soe alarumed the Country that the Nabeb had ordered downe for the guard of this towne two or three hundred horses (*sic*), and three or foure thousand Foot, under the protection of which ABDULGUNNY[2] was very insolent in denying us all manner of necessaries for trade, and forbidding us victualls in the Buzar, to prevent our Souldiers resorting thither, which was the occasion of the late eruption.

"9. For on the 28 ultimo 3 of our Souldiers going into the Buzar (as usuall) to purchase Victualls in the Morning, were not only denyed the same, but violently sett upon by the Governor's Peons, beate, cut, and carried Prisoners bound, to ABDULGUNNY, the news of which immediately arrived at this ffactory thus: 'that two Englishmen were sett upon by the Governor's Peons, desperately cut and wounded, and lying dying in the Highway.' Capt. Leshlie was immediately ordered out with a Company of Souldiers to bring in their bodies dead or alive, but to offer violence to noe man, except they were assaulted; which they, attempting to doe, were by the way sett upon with a body of Horse and Foote in a hostile Manner, whom they received, and after some Skirmish put to flight, killed and wounded seven, upon which the whole towne was alarumed, and they immediately sett fire to their owne Houses, more especially those neare the English quarters, as well to barr them out, as burne downe their Houses, which in great part tooke effect; for it soone arrived (at) the old Factory which was consumed, with some of the right honorable Company's Saltpeter, and a great many private men's goods to a considerable value. At the same time they began to display their great gunns from a battery consisting of Eleven Gunns that they had lately raised to command our Shipps in the Hole. Wee then beginning to feare the bad consequence of such an unhappy accident taking us at unawares, wee immediately ordered up

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[1] We have not been able to trace any corroboration of this. Respecting the form which Orme gives to Charnock's name, see a note further on.

[2] The Faujdár of Húglí.

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the rest of our forces from CHADANAGUR house,[1] three miles from towne, where they were quartered, and sent out another detachment under Capt. RICHARDSON to attacke the battery of gunns; which, meeting with hott servis and strong opposition, returned with the loss of a man and a great many wounded, whereupon Capt. ARTHBURTNOT[2] went out with a fresh recruite, made an assault upon the battery, took it, and maintained it while they spiked and dismounted all the gunns, carried the battle on beyond the Governor's House, burneing and driveing all before them, upon which, it was reported, the Governor himselfe fledd in disguise by Water, leaveing the towne in this desolate condition. Our Ketches and Sloopes were then likewise ordered up against the towne, but the tide of Ebb setting out, and the wind contrary, they were unservisable tell towards evening, when they came on breast of the Towne, tooke a Greate Mogull's ship, and kept firing and battering most part of that night and next day, and making frequent sallies on Shoar, burneing and plundering all they mett with. In all this action wee lost but one man, with one of those three that were first assaulted by the Governor's Peons, who dyed in three days time. The loss on theire side, by the nearest calculation, is about sixty men outright killed, among which were three eminent men, and a great many wounded, and about foure or five hundred houses burnt downe, with a great number of their *Bettilos*, *Boras*,[3] and Boats.

"10. In the midst of these conquests the Phouzdar makes his address to us by the mediation of the Dutch for Pease, the which wee haveing considered and weighed well with our orders and instructions from the Right Hono^ble^ Company, and finding it noe part thereof, besides that the place in itselfe could not easily be maintained with a small Charge, if more forces came downe, which was to be feared, and that there was twelve or fourteen thousand baggs of the Companys Salt Peeter on Shoar besides severall other goods which could not safely bee got off, without the assistance of the Country, wee resolved to forgo this great Victory throwne upon us in our defence, reserving our forces and ammunition for executing the Right Honble Company's further orders, and accordingly the next day at two a clock agreed to a cessation of armes providing they would supply us with Victualls and servants and labourers, which they seeme to performe, and the Cessation still continues without any conditions of Peace. Wee haveing since that lately seized on a Shipp of the Nabob's at the River's mouth, and Capt. NICHOLSON is gone downe with orders to seize three more they report are in BALLASORE Roade. Soe that wee know not how long this may Continue. Wee strive to bee peaceable on our Side, tell all the Peter and goods are gone on Shoar, which wee are packing of Daily, and hope in a fortnight more all to leave this place to prosecute further orders.

"11. Wee have lately received a letter from Mr. WATTS at DECCA, who acquaints us that the Nabob is mightily disturbed about our late proceed-

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[1] The modern French settlement, Chandernagore.

[2] Capt ARBUTHNOT, no doubt, whose name is much mishandled, as is the manner of the Southron with Scotch names. The Court, in a passage which I have mislaid (again misspelling the gallant officer's name), sent him a medal for his conduct.

[3] *Batella* is a word much used in West India, which is either taken from or mixed up with the Portuguese *Batel*. But there is a Hind. word, *Pateld* or *Pataild*, also, a kind of flat-bottomed boat. *Bora* is probably Hind. *Bhar*, a kind of cargo-boat or lighter, used on the Húglí river.

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ings, and has thereupon sent to PATTANA to seize on all the Right Honble Company's Estate there and Imprison their servants, which could not hitherto gett downe; he would also have Imprisoned Mr. Watts, but that BOREMULL[1] interposed. He has ordered downe three hundred horse under the conduct of three Jemidars,[2] either to treate us or force us to a peace.

"12. Reports of this matter are various, the Phouzdar tells us he has Orders from the Nabob to treate us cively, and incourage us to trade; others that he designes (sending) downe an army on us. A few days before this disturbance wee received two *Huzbulhookums*[3] from our Vakeel at Court on the Nabob and King's Duan to do us Justice in the CASSIMBUZAR buiseness, by referring to Arbitration, the which being sent up to the Nabob and Duan, they returned their Perwannas on the Sub Governors here, to lett us go on with our trade unmolested, according to Antient Phirmaunds, which might have been of some use to us, had wee bin under other Circumstance. Wee have not great news from our Vakeel at present; we have writt to him at large concerning the Present differences, as also to the King and Grand Vizier. Copies of which wee have remitted to Fort St. George for Conveighance that way, least the Matter should bee misrepresented to the King.

"13. Amongst the other contradictions, which are the most that ever such a great designe mett with, the *Beaufort* proves exceeding leaky, and Capt. NICHOLSON is gon downe with our Chief Pilott to bring her up into INGELEE river to careen, which must bee done before wee can goe upon any designe with her. To add to this is the loss of the *Dimond* Frigott on DUE point, the Disappointment of the *Madapollam* Ketch and the *Mary*, and noe Tidings of any of the rest of the Shipping designed us from Europe.

"14. These transactions gave the Dutch a good opertunity to make their Marketts, for tho' they for some time had bin at Variance with the Government, had withdrawn their Factories, and throwne up their Buzars, as formerly advized, yett upon the first motion of our disturbances (by what meanes or upon what accounts wee know not) they were immediately againe possest of their Buzar and towne of BARNAGUE,[4] and hoisted their flaggs upon the utmost extent of their limits, and continue soe still, carrying on their trade, and will in all probability make a considerable investment this Yeare, they designeing two shipps from hence to Europe this season. Some think they made use of our differences to take possession of their owne againe, others that by a considerable bribe they Obtained a Perwanna from the Nabob to that effect, but it is generally conjectured by most that after they have made an end of this Years investment, they will fall upon them for their old demands. They have now Eleven Saile of Shippes in the river, with three hundred men on board of them, and seeme to bee much startled at our proceedings.

"15. The Governor begins to bee Sencible how far they have Injured us and what Injurie it is, and is like to bee, to them, our leaving the trade and Deserting their Country, which occasions their Seeming Willingnes to Comply with us, wee

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[1] Boremull is mentioned incidentally by Hedges, Diary, May 11, 1683 (p. 87). His name frequently occurs in the letters of Charnock, etc., at this time; always as a friendly intermediary. He was apparently a Hindu of weight at the Dacca Court.

[2] *Jemidars*, in early Anglo-Indian, stands for *Zemindars*, almost always.

[3] See note, p. 101. [4] See note at p. 174.

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haveing lately seene a Copie of a Perwanna from the Nabob, sent us by the Phouzdar, very much in our favour, but how far wee can trust them wee are at a loss.

"16. Our grievances in the Country, as when wee Compute our demands, are Variouse as wee have informed your Excellency &ca., upon all occasions." . . . .

(Then goes on to state the cause and amount of damages claimable from the Government.)

". . . . Wee hope you have all left SURATT and are safe at BOMBAY, where wee suppose you likewise to bee possessed of good store of their rich shipps, towards the expences of the Warr, the news of which will mightily rejoyce us, and soe Wee conclude, leaving the Ishew to God Almighty, and rest &c.

"JOB CHARNOCK.
"FRANCIS ELLIS.
"SAMLL. GRIFFITH.
"EDWD. OXBOROUGH."

(O.C. No. 5532.)

(From Charnock and Ellis to President GYFFORD and Council, Fort St. George.)

"Honble:

"Wee received your more Particular Generall[1] directed to us and bearing date the 8th and 26th August, wherein you more particularly recommend unto us the consideration of the Rt. H. C.'s affaires under the present emergency, as in theire instructions to us by the *Beaufort* and *Rochester* which wee have hitherto executed, soe farre as Power would reach. Wee Praye God prosper the grand designe, but certainely soe many difficultys and disappointments have not beene found in any one thing soe considerable before, as wee have at large demonstrated in one more publick Generall to your Honours of this daies date, and in that to the Rt. Honble Company by the *Persia Merchant*, to both which wee refer.

"Its certaine wee have beene preparing to withdrawe almost these 12 months, which wee might easily have effected 6 months agoe, had not the want of Shipping beene the great obstacle, without which the greate quantity of Saltpetre, about 14,000 baggs (soe necessary and valuable at this time) with a greate many other goods, together with ourselves, could never have been brought off; and though wee have had some shipping and bought others for that end, yet wee are in that disappointed by the misfortune of the *Josia*, who was soe very much worme eaten, that shee must of necessity have foundred by the way. The *Beaufort* likewise is soe exceeding leaky that wee can enter upon nothing till shee is carreened, and fitted. Thus has the whole series been nothing but disappointments hitherto; and though wee have consulted the positivenesse of our orders, immediately to attack CHITTIGAUM, yet you see what impossibilitys have prevented us.

"Wee now only stay for getting off the Saltpetre, which wee question not in a fortnight more to effect, if wee can continue peaceable soe long, and that our designe is to leave this place, with some signal token, taking (if possible) some eminent Persons Captives for the ransome of those aloft,[2] then wee intend to randezvous belowe at INGE(LIE). There is a greate Jemidar that Joines to that place,

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[1] "A particular generall" was, I imagine, what we should call a confidential dispatch.

[2] "Aloft", *i.e.*, "up the country", as we should now say.

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who is no(we) in open warres with the Countrey, and courts us for his allye, promising us men, Provisions, and Necessaries to build ffactorys or Forts in his Jemidarship; the which, though not particularly directed in our Orders, ought not to be slighted; and at the same time we designe for CHITTAGAUM.

* * * * * * *

"Wee shall bee carefull of what your Honours write concerning the returning of the Souldiers, as occasion offers, but these Portuguese are very sorry fellowes, of all which, with black and white, together with the 108 men received pr. the *Rochester* wee can not number 400 fighting men; though (wee thanke God) there has not been a more wholesome yeare in BENGALLA time out of mind, nor noe Monzoone that hitherto could bee perceived to breake up at the change of the winds. Wee have not buryed 12 men out of the abovesaid Number these 4 months.

"The Skirmish we have had with the Government mightily startles them, and has made them mightily afraid of us. The Nabob knowes not what to thinke of it. Sometimes he 's displeased, and immediately orders 3 or 400 horse downe on us, then againe hee stops them. Its true we had an absolute conquest, and might have made the Towne our owne, and in it got some plunder, and kept it for some time, but our orders would not beare us out either to loose time, ammunition, or men, in a designe that in the end would prove fruitelesse, and to noe purpose; therefore have taken this course for a cessation of armes, as more particularly advised in our public Generall.

"We feare nothing but the want of Men in the CHITTAGAUM Expedition, for wee are credibly informed that there is 5 or 600 horse constantly there, with 5 or 600 foot, besides Small Shipping, which is the reason wee are the more willing to Staye on the *Beaufort* and the other greate Ships, that wee may doe the businesse at once; therefore Pray, what Europe Ships arrive with you, despatch them in all hast to our succour: the event of all which wee recommend to God, and rest

"Honble, Your most Humble servnts

"JOB CHARNOCK.

"FRANCIS ELLIS."

(To Sir JOHN CHILD, General, etc., and Council at Surat, dated "Hughly, 9 Decemb. 1686.")

"... The late Skirmish here has reduced them to be very submissive, insomuch that they dread the bad consequences of our leaving Hugly. Considering our demands, the Phousdar proffers that our demands in generall shall be referred to arbitration by men of our own Choosing, that we shall have Perwanna from the Nabob to trade Custome free, till we procure a Phirmaund from the King, that he and all Mutsuddies will be assisting to us in procuring said Phirmaund, but how far we may trust them is doubtfull. We have a great deal of reason to believe that Severall of our demands might be Sattisfied, as the 14,000 Rs. at CASSUMBAZAR, the 44,000 Rups: at DACCA, the 12,000 Rs. at HUGLY, to assist us in gitting in our debts, MAULDA ffactory to be rebuilt, and then endeavour for procuring us a new Phirmaund to trade Custome free; the rest they Say are to be found nowhere, and can be charged to no account except the Nabob pay it, which to be sure he'll never doe. Were not the Seaseing of CHYTTEGAM so positively insisted upon, we might have great hopes of an advantagious accommodation. And how far that may incense the Emperor is unknown to us, and possibly may forfeit all our Trade in Bengall. We are informed that the Nabob

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(and we suppose to Gratify us) hath turned ABDULGUNNY here out of his place, and sent for him up to Dacca . . . .

*** * * * * * ***

"*An Account of our Demands on the Countrey as followeth:—*

Vizt.	Rs.
For what BULCHUND forced from Mr. VINCENT at Cassumbazar	14 000
For what SIEF CAWN plundered out of ffactorys at Pattana by 1000 foot and 500 horse and putting Mr. MEVERILL in irons	80 000
For detaining the Agent with the Silke at Cassambuzar ...	400 000
For protecting HAGGERSTON from Justice	45 000
For what forced out of Dacca Factory for picars	44 000
For what forced from our merchants at Hugly	12,000
For demolishing and plundering Maulda Factory	150 000
For Custome paid at the Mintt at Hugly contrary to our Phirmaund	150 000
For demorage of Shipping the 3 last years	2000 000
For what extorted from us in presents &ea.	200 000
For debts remaining and oweing us in the Countrey ...	800 000
For beseiging of Hugly Factory, the Death of the Agent and 4 men	300 000
For burning the old ffactory and the goods in it	300 000
For Charge of 1000 men and 20 Ships for the war	2000 000
For the Charges of the ffactory and building if we leave the Countrey	130 000
	Rupees 6625,000

"JOB CHARNOCK.
"FRANCIS ELLIS.
"SAMLL. GRIFFITH.
"EDWARD OXBOROUGH."

This is the last letter we find from Húglí. Wonderful enough that Charnock should have been able to remain there and write in this strain more than two months after the "eruption", as he justly termed it, which seemed necessarily to make such a final breach with the Mahommedan power.

The next letter intimates their withdrawal to CHUTTANUTTEA, soon to be known by another name. It is, so far as we have found, the first mention of that place in surviving correspondence, but the letter seems to assume cognisance of the locality, and of the reason of its selection, as a site securer than Húglí, for further negotiation.

(To Sir JOHN CHILD, etc.[1])

"CHUTTANUTTEA, 31st December 1686.

". . . . On the 20th instant we all withdrew and left Hugly, bringing off all the Rt. Honble Company's Concerns and our own. Our coming off was very

[1] O.C. 5550.

Peaceable, and no less Honourable, haveing (as formerly advised) continued the Cessation of arms on both Sides hitherto, for the Conveniency of getting of the Rt. Honble Company's Estate, and not without hopes of some accommodation of the differences, the Nabob for that end having sent down Mr. Watts, so long detained at Dacca, with one Boremull, with powers to accomodate; in hopes of which we continue still at this place upon the expectation we have of the Nabob's answer to our demands formerly sent up by Boremull, if which arrives not in 2 or 3 daies more we intend to stay no longer, but goe on to Prosecute further orders.

"These do accompany Capt. Tho: Johnson whom your Excellency &ca. recommended unto us, and upon which account only have shown and given him a great deal more respect then he has deserved at our hands, he haveing proved very refractory and .... [illegible] upon Sundry accounts, and what we have done for him is purely in respect to your Excellency &ca. Councell concerned in that Ship. Tho' the present troubles and differences with the Government would not admitt of those Conveniences of Pilotage and otherwise as we intended, they haveing been so severe upon us that we have not been Capable of Complying with Sundry of our contracts in time; Amongst which it was Capt. Johnson's misfortune to be Concerned .... In your Excellency &ca. to us by the same bearer you take notice of the discouragement you have of trading through Agent Hedges former diskindnesse as represented to you, but if your Excy. &ca. take your measures from every Pettish Commander when thawrted on their self intended designs here, we shall never be in hopes of pleasing, and should we have a trade in Bengall again, the Surat trade can never be carried on as it has been, without great prejudice both to the Rt. Honble Company and our Selves as late and wofull Experience doth demonstrate . . ."

"Job Charnock.
"Francis Ellis.
"John Nicholson.
"Samll. Griffith."

Here, then, on the site of future empire, Charnock and Capt. Nicholson entered into negotiations with the Nabob's representatives; the result of which was the proffer by the English of twelve Articles or Stipulations, which failed of acceptance now, but are often referred to in later letters as the basis of farther negotiation. The matter of these Articles, though not categorically stated, is to be gathered from the following document, which, though called a Copy of the Articles, consists rather of the comments of the Native diplomatists upon them.

"Coppie[1] *of the Articles agreed upon and signed by* Bohour Mall, Mullick Bourcoordar, and Meer Phancar *on Behalfe of the Nabob and granted by the Rt. Honoble. English East India Company at* Chuttanuttee *the* 11*th January* 168⁹⁄₉ *but afterwards Denyed to be Confirmed by the Nabob."*

"As to the first article concerning a Phirmand Custome free: Except the Piscash of rupees 3000 annually, The Nabob did fformerly writ in your behalfes for obteyning a Phirmand, but Could not prevaile, wherefore he now intends to write a Second time.

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[1] O.C. 5554.

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"2. As to your Second Article for bringing the Mint to HUGLEY it Lyes not in the Nabob's power without the King's order; but that the Nabob will also write to the King about.

"3. To the 3d Article concerning arbitration, your business when Occasion offers, by 2 of each party concerned, That you may do, but you must first present them to the Governour for his approbation, That no injustice may be done on either side, and accordingly the Nabob will send his Perwanna to all the Governours under his jurisdiction.

"4. As to the Article concerning the goods passing too and fro unmolested without paying any duties, Wee do answer that your business shall go on as formerly.

"5. As to the 5th Article concerning the Governour's buying your Treasure at their rates, it never was practised neither shall it be for the Future.

"6. As to the 6th Article concerning your Gomastas building &ca. wee shall not be against it provided it be in a proper place as Customary.

"7. As to the 7th Article concerning the 44 000 rupees. Wee shall acquaint the Nabob about it, that no injustice be done you.

"8. As to the 8th Article concerning getting in your Debts, the Nabob will send his Perwanna for the getting of them in.

"9. As to the 9th Article concerning Maulda Factory, the Nabob was advized by the Zimmedarrs that it was a Fort; for which reason it was ordered by him to be pulled downe, but it shall be rebuilt by them.

"10. As to the 10th Article, concerning rupees 12 000 taken at Hugly, what moneys has been taken unjustly Shall be returned.

"11. As to the 11th Article Concerning the rupees 20 000 deposited in GOLABBAY'S[1] hand; if it can be made appeare he shall make satisfaction.

"12. As to the 12th Article concerning granting 2 Peeces of ground for your Shipping, name your places, and if it be Convenient, wee shall write to the Nabob that it may be granted."

Before transcribing Charnock's own narrative of what followed this attempt at negotiation, we give one short extract of the comment made on his proceedings by Sir John Child and his Council at Surat, and a longer one from the story as it was passed on to Surat by the members of the factory at Patna. The former indicate, I think, in a very much veiled form, a considerable disbelief in the projects of their Honourable Masters as to the capture of Chittagong; whilst the latter, writing themselves with admirable coolness, when we consider their isolated and risky position, cast undisguised ridicule on the confidence manifested by Charnock in the terms which he demanded.

The General, Sir John Child, and Council at Surat write, under date 18th May 1687, to the Court:

. . . "Our friends in the Bay must have made a Hog or a Dog of it there before this time, and if not, finding they could effect nothing well, patched up a peace with the Nabob, and by that lulled the Moors into security, with resolutions to goe on with more resolution and nimbleness in August next, at once to strike without noise, that if possible they may reach your Honours Orders; soe that lett it be

[1] See Hedges' *Diary*, Index *s. v.*

how it will with them, what wee have directed cannot harme at all their designes; for they must have the place your Honours desire, or are put beyond the hopes of it, before it can bee known what wee have done". . .

Letter from Patna Factory "To H. E. John Child, Generall of India, &ca. Councill." (Dated at end: "Pattana, June 25th, 1687.")

"May it please your Excellency &ca.

" . . . the intent of this is to give your Exy. &ca. the best account we can of what hath happned since the right Worp[ll] Agent &ca. left Hugly, believing at this season you must necessarily want advices from thence, the following relation unto the 9th of March wee have from our own letters, but the account wee give you of what hath happened since, wee have only from the Suba and Merchants letters, to which please to give credit accordingly.

"About the last of December, Bowermull, Mellick burcoordar, and Meir Facca, 3 Munsubdars, went to Chuttanutty to the right worshipfull Agent &ca. with a Commission from Navob Shasteh Caun to treat a peace as they pretended, but the Sequell proved that it was only to delay Time. They agreed upon the following articles, but left them unto the Navob's approbation, and Agent Charnock insisted to have them confirmed by the King. Vizt. that they should have a sufficient quantity of ground to build a Fort upon, and there to have a mint, that the Navob should rebuild Molda Factory, restore the 45 000 Rupees he took about the Cassumbazar quarrell, and recover all the debts contracted by the right worshipfull Agent when Chief there; and that henceforward the Government should not determine any controversies between the Natives and the English, but that they should be left at our discretion, and that futurely wee shoud be Custome-free. And in contemplation of these perfect tokens of Conquest, the right worshipfull Agent &ca. rested without action untill the 11th February; the Commissioners Bowermull &ca. acquainting them about the 28th January that the Navob approv'd theire articles and had sent them unto the King for confirmation. How they could believe that Shasteh Caun had such small regard to his head, is a little strange. But about the middle of February they were awaked, when Abdull Summud the Navob's Buxy came to Hugly with about 2000 horse, upon which they removed from Chuttanutty, stormed and took the Fort at Tanna with all its ordnance and ammunition, destroyed all things that came in theire way, untill they came to Ingerly or Hidgly, the Governour whereof, Mellick Cossim, upon their approach fled, soe that they possessed themselves of the same without resistance, in which they found store of Ammunition; though the Inhabitants had conveyed all they had beforehand from off the Island. In this month, February, Ballasore was likewise sacked and burnt, and all the Shipping thereunto belonging, which they say was about 40 saile. Their Owners expecting what happened had drawn most of them upon the Shoare (as it proved) that they might burn the better.

"In March there arrived two Shipps belonging to Shasteh Caune, one whereof they took, the other haveing a Dutch Pilott, and meeting only a Sloop in Ballasore road, fought her way into that River, likewise a Boat goeing in this Month to gett provisions was sett upon and taken by the Moors, the heads of three Englishmen was brought and sett up in Hugly, and 2 or 3 brought Prisoners, but wee heare not any more that perished in that misfortune. The Dutch have letters to the $\frac{18}{28}$ Aprill, they say a great many English were dead and sick upon the Island. About the begining of May the English attacqued and took a Fort, built a little on this side Ingerly, commanded by Mellick Cossim, the same

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that fled from INGERLY Fort, Killed about 40 men, and took all their Cannon and ammunition, and hitherto wee cannot heare scarce of a man lost by the chance of Warr, save those taken in the boate. But about the beginning of this month June, ABDULL SUMMUD in person assaulted the Fort in which the English remaine, with great loss they say on both sides; and that he hath retaken a Shipp with two Elephants in her, and hath Surrounded them on each side, except towards the River; that the Moors hath forced the Shipping to fall below the Fort into broader water, the River there being but narrow; and he hath writt the Navob that he will again assault them in 2 or 3 days. This last story came two days since in a letter from Dacca to this Suba Navob.[1] SHASTEH CAUN hath confiscated the goods that were in CASSAMBAZAR ffactory, and valued them at about 23 Thousand Rupees in the King's books. Likewise he hath recovered great sums from the merchants, the right hon^ble Company's Debtors.

"About the beginning of December the Vacqueele (as wee presume) heareing what had passed in HUGLY, fled from the Army,[2] and arrived here about the 20th March. . . . . The Vacqueele tells a large story what progress he had made in the business of the Phirmaund. That the King had granted the same, the cheif heads of which were Vizt.—That futurely the Rt. Honble Company should be Custome free in the Provinces of BEHAR, BENGALLA, and ORIXA, paying *Nolbandy*,[3] or Tribute 6000^rupees per annum; that they should have a Mint in HUGLY, but concerning paying or not paying custome for Treasure coyned was not anything mentioned; that the Government should not protect the Rt. Honble Company's Debtors; that whenever they have a mind to build Factorys, satisfying for the Land where it was *Currig Jema*,[4] that is over measure, not entred in the Kings books, or paying the usuall and accustomed Rent, noe Government should molest them, but give them all due assistance. He saith about such times as he expected to have said Phirmaund sealed, arrived a Certificate about Agent CHARNOCK'S &ca. Seizing Mr. DAVIS the Interloper's Person and Estate, not only himselfe, but sundry merchants to whom he was Debtor having complained to the Addollutt in HUGLY concerning the same. This he saith, putt an Impediment unto that important concern, and haveing notice of what was designed, he thought it convenient to secure one.[5] . . .

"Nothing appearing either in the Vacca[6] or any other Letters untill of late concerning these broiles in Hugly &c. induces us to beleive that SHASTEH CAUNE never writt anything to the King concerning the same untill the burning of Ballasore &ca. and the more in that this Subah Vacqueele, who likewise sollicits for his father the Dacca Navob, lately wrote him that the King being very intentive upon takeing HIDRAVAD, and his Father the Dacca Navob having ordred him to acquaint the King with the English business (when) he had an opportunity to effect some business this Navob had (informed) him, that concern-

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[1] *I.e.*, to the Nawab of this Súbah (Patna or Berár).

[2] From the camp of Aurangzeb.

[3] *Na'l bandí*, literally "horse-shoeing money"; but standing for a permanent tribute.

[4] *Khárij-jama'*, "separated or detached from the rental of the State, as lands exempt from rent, or of which the revenue has been assigned to individuals or institutions" (*Wilson*).

[5] This looks like an early form of "taking care of No. 1".

[6] *Wak'a*, pl. *Wakaya'*, events, news; an official newsletter.

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ing the English business the King only enordered an exact Mapp to be taken of Hugly &c. and to be sent him.

"Wee have been some time cleare of the Government, and have licence to goe all (excepting one) which we have spent in endeavouring hitherto unsuccessfully to Secure all or part of this money; but findeing obstacles invincible, and seeing noe probability of peace, wee shall not venture our persons long here. The English woman is in the Dutch ffactory, a little out of the way, though little securer than with us. Wee would faine see her in one place or other before our Departure. An error of that nature is not to be rectified, but would remaine a perpetuall scandal and Reproach to the Nation. . . . . This City and adjacent parts were soe amply supplied with Salt the precedent yeares that that commodity sells at about 1^{rup} 2^{a} p^{r} Maund. . . ."

Sd. by ROGER BRADDYL, JAMES SOWDEN, SAMLL. MEVERELL.

I now proceed to give Charnock's own narrative:

JOB CHARNOCK AND FRANCIS ELLIS "to H. E. Sir JOHN CHILD, *Captain Generall of His Majestie of Greate Brittain's Land and Sea fforces in the North of India, Governour of Bombay, Generall for the Rt. Hono'ble Company's Affaires in India, Persia &ca. and the Councell.*"

(Dated at the end: "Little Tanna the 10th 7br. 1687.")[1]

". . . . We received Sundry advices from thence (the Fort) Concerning your Excellencys proceedings at Surat, as also the Particulars of what you advize us of in your Exc^{ys} last Generall, the which wee haveing Considered in each Particular Conclude with your Exc^{y} &ca. in Generall, That an Honourable Peace ought not to be rejected by no meanes; and Especially att this time when the Mogull is so neare ffort St. George; for which there hath been wanting no Endeavour in us to bring it to pass; to prevent those Calamityes that are Incident in the Best and justest Warrs, but such a peace is best made with the Sword in hand, ffor a Mogull's perfidiousness is too Subtill for any other pollicy, and its possible if wee had not too much Coveted this peace we might have obtained it sooner, as Particularly below.

"Wee no Less concurr with your Excy. &ca. in that it had been much better that HUGLEY had not been ransackt, BALLASORE Destroyed, and the Shipps there burnt, if it had been any wayes possible to have prevented it; ffor Extreame necessity and want of provisions fforced us upon that of Hugley; and Justice Called upon us to punish their Perfidy and breach of ffaith in the [[2]] of CHUTTENUTTEA, in ye Burning the Kings Salt houses [[2]]ting and takeing his Forts at Tanna, and Destroying BALLASORE; the Maintainance of the Warrs oblidged the Seizing and Takeing of their Shipps and Goods, when and where to be found; Selfe preservation and the Security of our Shipping drew us into that Direfull Place of HIDGLEY; Their too great Security in Bringing all their Shipping at BALLASORE upon Land ffrom whence they could not be launched was the only Cause of burning them; besides all which the Honour of our nation brought afresh into our Memoryes the Numberless Affronts and abuses received from them upon all Occasions.

"In the said Last Generall to your Excellency[3] wee gave you a Particular

[1] O.C. 5618.

[2] Mutilated at folds.

[3] Dated, as appears at the beginning, 3rd Dec. 1686; but not found.

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account of all our proceedings to that time; ffrom whence wee shall proceed and Carry it on to this Day as briefly as the Matter will afford it.

"Wee lay then under the Expectations of the Nabob's answer to what BOWERMULL (his Chiefe Commissary here), as formerly advized, had wrote up Concerning us and our affaires, the Effect of which was that MULLICK BURCOORDAR Phousdardar (*sic*) of Hughly, and MEIR FACCA, Cheife Captain of his Intended Army, should be joyn'd in Common with BOWERMULL, and all three to come downe to us at CHUTTANUTTEA to treate: They being arrived and the Treaty begun, it was Concluded after Three dayes in 12 articles, according to the indorsed Coppy, to which wee referr; The same being Signed and Sealed by them, was transmitted to the Nabob to be Confirmed, The which being Detained 23 dayes, after many Doubtfull reports, was returned with very Threatening Perwanas on them (the Commissaries) and us; They in betraying the Trust reposed in them in Submitting to such Dishonourable Tearmes; Wee in So Obstinately insisting on such high Demands: Thereupon Issued out Perwannas on all his Sub Governours ffor the Leaveying all the fforces they Could throughout the Countrey, to Thrust us out of the Kingdome; never more to trade therein.

"The Nabob, contrary to the Law of Nations having disowned his own handwriting, and acting quite Contrary to the words of his Commissary in the Treaty.

"The Country all up in armes round us, and without any hope of peace, or ffurther treaties about it, Warr broke fforth, and on the 9th Feby. wee burnt down the King's Salt houses, on the 11th assaulted and tooke his ffort at TANNA,[1] with the Loss only of a Mann's Legg and some wounded; here wee destroyed them some quantity of men, after which having sent Downe CAPT. NICHOLSON with one halfe of the Fleet and Forces to take possession of HIDGLEY Island, the Agent &ca., After Demolishing of the Forts (which were not Teneable so farr up in the Countrey), followed after and arrived the 27th February att HIDGLEY, which had been before peaceably surrendered to CAPT. NICHOLSON, and the Island with all the Forts and Batteries deserted by the Military.

"Being arrived there with all our Shipping, Excepting the *Rochester*, the *Nathaniell* and the Ketch *Samuell* in BALLASORE roade, and one Ketch more to guard the River Hughley, wee tooke into our thoughts the fortifying of that place and the securing the Gunns and Amunition in the small Forts round the Island, Deserted by them; and all our soldiers, in number about 420, were in Indifferent good Health. Wee then placed our small Shipping at Severall stations round the Island, to hinder the Enimies Landing in the most probable places, and kept Longboats and Pinnaces Cruising a nights to hinder the People from Leaveing the Island, who generally Carryed their Cattle along with them, haveing at that time nigh 3000 head of Cowes and Oxen on the Island. Wee also began to raise breastworks, and to Digg Trenches round our Main Forte, which was but ffalcely so Tearmed, it being but a small weake house and a thinn wall about it, with 2 or 3 points, not nigh so strong as our ffactory at Hughley, and Scituated among a Grove of Trees and a thick Towne of Mudd houses about 500 (yards?) Distant ffrom the Water Side, where was raised a Battery of ([2]) Gunns. The upper Fort had Gunns also mounted where they Could doe Service.

"Much about the time of our Landing here the Seamen out of the *Rochester* and *Nathaniell* in Ballisore road, together with 30 Souldiers Left there for Guard of that place, by order Assaulted the Shipps there in that river, in number 14, which they had drawne up all into Dry Docks, and well ffortifyed under the

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[1] See note at p. 32. [2] Mutilated at the folds.

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protection of the Fort and Batteryes, raised and planted with their Shipps Gunns. 170 men, the full number of our forces there, being gott amongst them Soon became Masters of them all, and their Fort, in one night, with small Loss, from whence marching up next Day to the new towne of Ballasore, which being Sufficiently strengthened with Horse and foot, besides their ffortifications, which were at Every Mogull's house, they were sufficient Enough Alarumed to receive them; but the Dispute Lasted not here Long, for they Imediately became Masters of the Whole towne, burning and Destroying all before them; Plundered the King's Custome house of Rupees 30 000 besides other Merchants Goods; After two daies Skirmishing and Destroying said Towne, they returned to the Shipping at old BALLASORE, which they Endeavouring to Launch all this while, to the End they might (use?) them, but to Little purpose, were forced to Sett Fire to them, and burnt them. In this Expedition 6 or 7 men on our ([1]) numbers of them Commeing downe to the Banksaule and Stay ([1]) a few daies till the Winds would permitt them to gett off; In the Interim Capt. BROMWELL's Long boate and boats Crew, being principall men in his Shipp, staying about 2 miles up in the Countrey were way Lay'd by the Enemy in Ambush, and all Cutt off (save one), being in number 17, the greatest Loss sustained in the Warr at one time; all the Rest being brought Safe off the Shoare, the *Rochester*, *Nathaniell*, and *Samuell* Ketch with the Souldiers were ordered up to HIDGLEY, and the Ketch *Good Hope* being well mann'd and arm'd ordered downe Into the Bay with 2 months provisions to Lye there as a Guard Shipp.

* * * * * * *

"Returning from whence wee Digressed; The *Rebecca* ffrigate being arrived, and Commeing to HIDGLEY with the *Rochester* and *Nathaniell*, with a Prize Shipp they had taken of the Nabob's of DECCA, with 4 Elephants, Pepper &ca., and another of the Prince's under the Dutch protection and pass; which wee have notwithstanding seized. There passed Severall Protests and Declarations betwixt us, but none since the Concluded peace. That matter appears bareffaced to their Greate Shame.

"About this time, the beginning of May, greate numbers of the Inhabitants of the Island Left us, some being deluded over; others ffrightened; and others for want of rice; which then wee began to ffeare would ffaile ourselves, whereby our Fortification stood still unperfected; and this put us on thoughts of Looking out for more Rice, and thereupon made an Incursion into the Maine and brought away about 1500 maunds with Little Loss. Wee were all besett round on the Maine, all manner of Provisions Cut off from thence, and not anything to be had upon the Island but beefe and a little ffish, by meanes of which greate numbers of our men aboard and ashoare dyed dayly, and Generally 180 or 200 Souldiers downe Sick. About the Middle of May wee were necessitated to Attacque a Battery of theirs placed on the Other Side of the River that Commanded all our Shipps going to or from our Fort. The which wee did with good Success, defeating the Enemy; Quite Splitt the Greate Gunns, and brought away the Small ones with the Peter ([1]) and other Amunition, but the Place not being Tenable by us (and the) Enemy growing upon us Dayly, they Immediately mounted more and Greater Gunns, and beate our Shipps from their Anchorage, and flung their Shott into our Upper Fort. By this time was ABDULL SUMMUD the Nabob's buxy Come downe to HIDGLEY, with Considerable fforces both of Horse and Foote, in number about 12000, with full power from the Nabob to End the Difference with

[1] Mutilated at the folds.

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the English, Either by fforce or peaceably, as he should think most Convenient and ffor his Honnour. At the Newes of ABDULL SUMMUD's arrivall with such Considerable fforces The Jemmidar that had promised us his help with men and Provisions was Either bought of, or ffreightened into a Complyance with ABDULL SUMMUD, so that he revolted from us. ABDULL SUMMUD, in respect of his great number of fforces Soon effected his Designe, raising new Fortifycations on Sundry places of the River where it was narrowest, thereby so Annoying our Shipping that they placed Every Shot, and our men, Souldiers, Sailors, and others ffell downe Every Day Sick of the Generall Distemper of the Island, Feavour and Ague, which was by this time Epidemicall, so that wee had buried almost 200 men of all sorts, and Scarce 100 men remained to Keepe the Fort, and those very weake. And the Enemy, well understanding our Condition, the 28th May in the afternoon ffrom a Battery of theirs Landed 700 Horsemen and 200 Gunnmen, and imediately tooke a small battery of ours opposite to theirs (which was armed) of 4 small feild-peeces, a Gunner and 20 men; the which ([1]) being quite ffinished was Diserted by our men, being ([1]) at the Sight of such a Number of the Enemy, who receiving Encouragement from this small Conquest, marched with their fforces and our ffeild-peeces to the Maine Fort in the Towne, where they arrived in a manner as Soone as our Intelligences, it not being 3 miles distant, and surprized Lieut. RICHD. FRANCES, His wife, and child, who were Sicke in a house in the Towne. Himm they Cutt in Peeces, his wife and child they Carryed away Prisoners, and seized upon our Stable of Horses, in numbers 6 or 7, and 4 Elephants Likewise, that wee had Lately taken. They haveing thus surprized beyond all men's Expectations, and part of the Towne on Fire, had almost Lodged themselves in our Trenches, before wee could well Call our Souldiers togeather in armes, and all that Evening had ffeirce Engageings from our outward Trenches in which they Lodged themselves in our Line, but the Mogull's Courage, as their Nature is, going out of them with their Bang; Next Morning were soone ffeazed[2] out from thence. At this time our Condition was most Desperate and Deplorable by reason of Sickness and Death; not haveing but one Officer of 6 Leiuts. and 8 Ensigns, to command under his Worshipp at that time in the Fort, and of 26 Sergeants and Corporalls not above 4 alive, and alle to do Duty; Captain NICHOLSON's Shipp, Emptyed of all her Gunns, Amunition, Provision and Goods, ready the next morning to go on the waye to helpe another Desperate Greate Leake Sprung in her, as greate as the former, and none of our Shipping half mann'd, whereby wee were in Danger of Losing the Rt. Honble Company's Shipping if wee had then deserted the Fort; Extreme Necessity then fforcing our Courage, wee held it out the next Day, notwithstanding they Landed a greate many more men upon us, and battered us with their feild-peeces, and beseidged us ¾ round; for by reason of a Gurriall house which stood halfe way to the water side, and on which was planted 2 Gunns and a Guard, wee Kept that Passage to our Shipping open, whereby wee recruited and reinforced our Selves from the Shipping with Amunition, Provision and other necessaryes with which this Day was taken up, as also in Carrying off some of the Rt. Honble Company's most Considerable goods, haveing Kept ffireing all this Day and next night on both Sides, in which fell much raine, which with Constant Duty much Disabled our menn, Whereby a great many were sent off Sick; the Severall Small Shipping that guarded round the Island were ordered into the broad river to be in a readiness to receive us, when the SYAM Prize, the *Revenge*, grounded upon a Sand by the way, Oversett

[1] Mutilated at the folds.

[2] Harassed.

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and Billedged, and the men had no sooner Left her then the Enemy on the other side possessed her.

"Thus wee held out for 4 daies, in which our Garrison, growing Very thinn, not having above 100 ffighting men in it, and the 2 Batteryes, wee received a recruit of 70 men from the Europe Shipping, Commanded by Mr. Denham, who Chearefully Sallied out the Next day, and beate the Enemy ffrom their Gunns, burning their houses and returned with the Loss of a Mann. Next day wee dropt all the Saylors out of the Fort by 1 and 2 at a time to the Under Battery at the Water Side, when being all drawne up in arms marched up to the Fort with Drums beating and Trumpetts Sounding, and the men huzaing as two daies before. On our part wee Lost about 16 Men, on theirs a very Greate Number; The Enemy Supposeing us to be Supplyed with Constant recruits ffrom the Shipping grew Dull upon it, and on the next day, in the Morning, being the 6th Day, held fforth a fflagg of Truce in order to a Treaty. And the Agent having sent one out of the Fort to Discourse them, They advized the Agent that ABDULL SUMMUD was Inclined to a peace Iff wee would Send over any body to Discourse him about the Same. The which wee Condescended to upon the Leaving a Hostage of Equall Vallue. The which they were unwilling to Grant till they had wrote over to ABDULL SUMMUD about it. A Cessation of armes was declared on both Sides till next day at 12 a Clock; before which time they, receiving ABDULL SUMMUDS Opinion, Delivered us (unto the) Fort an Hostage in lieu of Mr. RICHARD TRENCHFEILD who (went) over to Discourse ABDULL SUMMUD. Mr. TRENCHFEILD returned on the Morrow Early, in which Time ABDULL SUMMUD and he had disputed a great many things, and at Last Came to this Conclusion, that if the Agent would send over 2 or 3 with full power to Conclude a Peace with him he would Treate with them about it, in order to the putting an End to the Warrs; and ffurther, Mr. TRENCHFEILD adds, he was in hopes of very Honourable Tearmes. Upon which it was resolved That Mr. TRENCHFEILD Should go over againe with THOMAS MACRITH and Mr. W[m] JOLLAND, with Instructions to treat with him about a Peace; haveing Hostages Left in their roome ffor their Safe returne; and to Insist on the 12 Articles granted at CHUTTENUTTEA; Yett withall, with full power and orders to Conclude a Peace before they returned, upon the Most advantageous and Hono[ble] Tearmes they Could procure, for our Condition was such at that time, through the greate Mortallity and Sickness of our Men, That Indeed we would have Accepted of any tearmes to have had our Selves, Shipps, and Goods Conveighed of the Island. They, haveing been 3 Daies, returned with a ffirme Peace Concluded, to be Interchangeably Confirmed by the Rt. Worshipfull the Agent and ABDULL SUMMUD according to the Tennour of the Inclosed Coppyes, to which wee referr, and Proceed to give account that on (   ) Day after, wee received a Mogull into the Fort to take Possession (of the) Same, and on the 11th Day gave them full Possession (and went forth) with our Amunition and Artillery, Drum's beating and Collours (flying). ABDULL SUMMUD haveing broke up his Camp, on the 17th following the Rt. Worshipfull Agent marched with half the ffleet to ULLEBERREA and LITTLE TANNA, where wee Still are; ABDULL SUMMUD, Contrary to Agreement, not Leaveing *Dusticks* at HUGLY for our Shipps to Pass TANNA Forts, without which wee Could not goe.

"And we Lay in Expectation of the Nabob's Perwanna ffor Confirmation of the Articles agreed upon till the 20th July, when arrived a very Imperfect Perwanna according to the Translate That Comes herewith; with the which wee, being no wayes well Pleased, writt another Arzdass to the Nabob, that what he

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had done, was not according to Agreement, and without he would Lend a more ffirme and Substantiall Perwanna, Wee would accept of none. Upon the which ABDULL SUMMUD Advized the Agent by Letters that there was a ffirme Perwanna on the Way, with 5 other Perwannas to our Hearts Content, according to the Tennour of the Enclosed Translate of his Letters to the Agent.

"Mr. RICHARD TRENCHFEILD Informed us that According to their Instructions, they Insisted Extreamely upon the Delivery of English Subjects Trading in India without our Leave, but Could no wayes Prevaile. ABDULL SUMMUD haveing Concluded the matter with a reasonable answer of his, That how Could wee expect that such a thing would be granted us in a fforeigne Countrey; when at the same time wee refused to deliver up the Subjects of the Mogull Serveing in their owne Countrey in this present Warr against their King, Religion, and Countrey.

* * * * * * *

"The Mortality this Yeare hath been Very Greate, but more Espetially at that place of HIDGLEY, which was not only in respect of what Dyed there, but greate Numbers Died afterwards through the Disease they Contracted there, in so much that wee have buried the Last Yeare from the Shipps and the Millitary nigh 500 men, amongst which are 14 of the Rt. Hono^{ble} Company's Servants and 6 Women. Of 6 Leiutenants only 2 Left, and those Miraculously recovered. 8 Ensigne fell, 10 Sergeants and about as many Corporalls, with 250 Sentinells and as many Seamen; and Very few or Scarce any that Escaped a fitt of Sickness upon that Infected Island. Throughout the whole Warr wee had not above 40 men Killed by the Enemy.

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"Haveing Detained the Cossetts[1] 4 or 5 Daies ffor the (arrivall) of the Perwannas from the Nabob as above mentioned, and advized (by AB)DULL SUMMUD, wee have received the same, which wee find to be (little) better then the former, and indeed nothing at all Materiall or to any Purpose, as per Inclosed Coppy Translated, which wee remitt ffor your Excellencys &ca. perusall. The Same Confirmes to us that the Warr is not Yett at an Ende or Like to be Suddainly, and that they designe nothing Less than Peace, by his not Confirming the Last articles Concluded on, but that they have a greate Designe on ffoot to flatter us into their Clutches, with a few ffaire words, that they may Come upon us ffor all the Damages Done them in this Warr (which is Irrepairable by us) as our sundry Advices, as well private as otherwise, doe sufficiently Informe us, and Caution us; ffrom his Answers to the Vast numbers of Complaints brought against us to the Durbarr, upon which wee have resolved so farr to accept of his Perwanna as to go up to CHUTTANUTTEA with all our Shipping, being 5 Miles above TANNA Fort, as well for a recruit of Provisions, as ffor the Spinning out this Monzoone, with a ffirme resolution not to Settle noe Trade, till he Confirmes these Last Articles, and Gives us Some security against any Demands of Damages that arrise against us hereafter; for which End wee have sent up a Vackeel to DACCA. No recruits have arrived this Yeare from England nor any Shipping. The Last was the *Berkley Castle* which arrived here the 23d August; (The Company) well at home, but their affaires Very badd in India; our S(hipps are) all Disabled for want of men; We give G(reeting . . . .) to all, So Conclude and Rest

"Your Excel^{cys} &ca. Most humble Servants

"JOB CHARNOCK.

"FRANCES ELLIS.

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[1] Cossaids (*Kásids*), or express messengers.

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"CAPT. NICHOLSON being at HIDGLEY with his Shipp *Beaufort*, the *Nathaniell* and *Rochester;* Mr. SAMUELL GRIFFITH at Hughly Sick; Mr. RICHD. TRENCHFEILD there also upon business; EDWD. OXBOROUGH Dead, is the reason why no more subscribe. "THO: MACKRITH, Secy."

The following three papers belong to the negotiations initiated at Hijilí, with the Nabob's answer alluded to in the preceding letter.

(Indorsed—"ABDULL SUMMUD'S *Writeing to Agent* CHARNOCK ye 8th June 1687.")[1]

"The Agreement with Agent CHARNOCK is this, That whereas the Agent (to satisfy himselfe) hath presented Severall requests in 12 articles in a writeing, ffor the Confirmation of which he has demanded the Nabob's Perwanna, Whereof I make this agreement (or *Cole*[2]) That according to his Desire I will procure the Nabob's Perwanna, in which you may rest your Selfe assured, and by no manner of way Lett any other thought enter into your Heart, and rest your Selfe satisfyed that you may ffor the ffuture Continue your trade with the same priveledges as fformerly."

"*Translate of a Paper Sent over for the Rt. Worp'll the Agent to Signe.*"

(Indorsed—"*Translate of a Paper signed by ye Rt. Worp'll Agent to* ABDULL SUMMUD, *at* HEDGELIE, ye 9th June 1687.")[3]

"I Agent CHARNOCK do make this Agreement. Whereas ffor severall Opressions which have been done us in HODGEE SOPHY CAUN'S time and Severall Mutsuddies, I designed to withdraw our ffactories ffrom Bengalla, Pattana and Orixa and returne into our owne Countrey; in the interim ABDULL SUMMUD (whom God preserve) comming this way, I made knowne to him our Opressions, who gave to us Encouragement ffor which I make promises to returne to our ffactories and Trade as fformerly, and the Shipps and goods of Merchants which remaine in our hands I will deliver when the Nabob's Perwanna arrives in Confirmation of our Antient priveledges."

"*Translate of a Perwanna from Nabob* SHASTA CAUNE *to the Rt. Worshipfull the Agent, Rec'd from* Dacca *the 21st Day of July* 1687."[4]

"The *Arzdest* with the *Estimauze*[5] Concerning your twelve articles which you sent is arrived, and the Contents understood. You writt that 'whereas in HODGEE SOPHY CAUNES Government severall oppressions and Injuries were done us, wherefore I removed our ffactorys, and because of the Contrary winds I went and tarryed on the Island of HIDGALEE. Now that Sheik UBDULL SUMMUD is Arrived here, and hath given you Encouragement by faire promises, you are in hopes that according to your *Estimaus* you shall receive a Perwanna of Encouragement that you might continue your Commerce according to the ancient Customes.'

"Consider Yourselfe what manner of Evill has been Enacted by you, and those rash ffights made with the Kings fforces, and with my selfe, And ffired 3000

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[1] O.C., 5603, in I.O.

[2] *Kaul*, or *Cowle*, as we often find it in Anglo-India documents.

[3] O.C. 5604, in I.O.

[4] O.C. No. 5607, in I.O.

[5] '*Arzdasht*, see note, p. 153; *Estimauze* must be for *iltimás*, "a humble representation."

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Canon Shott, and plundred and took prizes, the Shipps of Moors, and afflicted God's people. If the matter should fully in every particular be made knowne to the King, the Offense in noe wise would be forgiven. However, whereas you writt to me, through your great uprightness, and Sheik Ubdull Summud's acquainting me with the same, and made known to me that whereas at what time about your Merchandizing it was asked those you sent, they made acquainted that (in) this province there were not such Merchants as could trade with you for ready mony, soe that the business with petty Merchants who first carry away mony, and at the time of demanding Goods they make use of ill ways, which Causeth dissatisfaction to arise between you, which is different from Suratt, where the Goods is delivered to responsible Merchants, and the mony imediatly paid downe upon the Nayle, and what goods is required they contribute their help to produce them; Wherefore Sheik Ubdull Summud hath agreed that you secure yourselves in Uluburreeah, and remaine in your ffactorys att Hugly, Carrying on your Negociations with the Merchants; the sence of which setts forth your boundless goodness, according to this Agreement Act—— Whatever goods of Merchants and the Inhabitants of Hugly &ca. which you have taken, you say some of said things, Shipps is sunck, and some burnt in the fire, and your demands that you make on the Picars their Case is thus: many of them are Dead, and some are absconded, since 'tis soe, neither will I lay hold of you for the Merchants &ca. their goods, nor you make any Demands for your goods, and for settling the mint at Hugly, and to forgive whatever Custome Hodgee Sophy Caune settled above the 3,000, I have wrott to the King's Court, According to the Command that comes may be done. Dated the 3d of Ramsan in the 31st yeare of the Kings Reign."[1]

Orme states that

"By a treaty signed 16th August 1687, it was stipulated that the English should not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province but might likewise erect docks and magazines at *Ulabarea*, a village situated on the western bank, about 50 m. from the mouth of the River."

Bruce again, with an apparent reference to this statement, observes that it can be gathered from the instructions of the Court, and the foreign despatches of the subsequent season, that the indulgences granted by the Nabob's Parwana "did not form the basis of a treaty for the renewal of the Company's commerce in the Bay of Bengal, but arose only from the arrival of the large armament from England" (II, 609).

It is obvious, I think, from the documents which have been presented, that no treaty had been signed on the 16th August, as Orme believed; and that in the following month, when Charnock wrote the letter last quoted, he was neither satisfied with the vague terms of the Nabob's *parwâna*, nor did he believe that any lasting peace had been established. I have not found documents detailing what followed immediately upon the condition of things partially described in that letter, but Orme seems to have had better fortune in India. Charnock, he says, "remained three months at Ulabarea, during which the place was found

[1] *I.e.*, 2nd July 1687.

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to be so improper for the purposes which had induced him to ask it, that he desired and obtained leave to remove to SOOTA-NUTTY,[1] a town about 40 miles higher up,[2] and on the other side of the river, where the factors and soldiers lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Meanwhile the war at Suratte broke out afresh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee" (see remarks above); "but gave up the English trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the same time demanded a very large sum as a recompense for the damage which his country had sustained by the late hostilities. CHANOCK being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of the council to DACCA, to try if he might be softened by submissions."

The last fact is confirmed by documents which I shall give later; but I have found nothing else bearing upon Charnock's relations with the Nabob at this time, nor touching the circumstances or duration of this *second* sojourn on the site of Calcutta, between the return from the Hijilí episode and the renewal of the war in the latter part of 1688.

But here is a proper opportunity to introduce some of the comments and orders of the Court in connection with the transactions that have been set forth.

From the beginning of the tension in Bengal the rulers of the Company were disposed to judge the proceedings of their Agent (then Mr. Beard) and his Council very harshly, and to address them in that acrimonious tone, which was their use and wont at this time, and which can hardly have tended to promote loyalty among their servants. As early as 12th August 1685, we find them writing:

"We see how intollerably you are abused, every day worse and worse, by the avaritious Governours of that Country, and how sheepish you are in submitting to such unreasonable and unjust affronts . . . . We cannot but admire at your niceness and scrupulosity to leave that place (HÚGLÍ) in debt, as if you never intended to return, or be resetled there again. Whereas we apprehend (as Mr. CHARNOCK wisely observed) that nothing would more tend to your resetlement after a breach, than the importunity and interest of your Creditors."

As the various operations succeed one another, and they know that their favourite Job Charnock has been the guiding spirit, they are dissatisfied with him also, and no longer cite his wise *dicta* as in the preceding quotation, though their reluctance to blame him comes out curiously, and sometimes contradictorily in the same letter. Thus (to Bengal, 20th September 1687):

"We have seriously perused your three general letters of 22d Novr., 15th and 23d December [1686], to our President and Council of Fort St. George, wherein we observe that you are so fond of Peace that you would find contradictions in the King's and Our orders, to cover your avarice and faint heartedness, where

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[1] *I.e.*, Chuttanutty (*Chatánatí*).

[2] Really only about 16 miles.

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wiser men than yourselves cann't see the least Shaddow of Contradiction. These letters were not only read seriously in our Committee, but in his Majestie's Cabinett Councill, and the King himself present . . . . We know your interest leads you to returne as soon as you can to your Trades and getting of Money, and so, it may be, our interest prompts us; but when the honour of Our King and Country is at Stake, we scorn more petty Considerations, and so should you."

Chittagong, it was generally agreed, would be best for their purpose, and Mr. Charnock's own particular letter to Sir Josia Child admitted that its conquest would be easy. The Court hope that their officers had proceeded accordingly to secure it, but can only in general terms assure them that

"We will undauntedly persue the war against the Mogull until we have a fortified settlement in BENGALL upon as good termes as we hold FORT ST. GEORGE or BOMBAY, whatever it cost us."

So their servants must be prepared to leave the country again upon very short notice.

The next two passages are from a letter of 28th September 1687, to the Fort:

"We see no cause to find fault with Mr. CHARNOCK'S conduct of the war hitherto, whatever we may do hereafter. If it be true that he missed such a great sum of money as is talked of (which we do not believe) we are sorry he mist it; but that is more than he could know when he made the cessation, and more than we or you know yet. And, set that aside, he had great reason to comply with the proposed cessation when it was offered.

* * * * * * *

"We are well satisfied of Our Agent Mr. CHARNOCK'S Sincerity to our interest, and only wish he were as good a Soldier as he is (for aught we see, by long experience of him) a very honest Merchant. . . . ."

The next extract is from a letter to Bengal of the same date, viz., 28th September 1687:

"We have a very good opinion of the fidelity of our Agent Mr. CHARNOCK, and like very well that ingenious letter writt by himself to Sir JOSIA CHILD, which has been communicated to us; but we think he is a little too diffident of the trouble he fears in keeping CHITTEGAM. We are not afraid of the charge of that, nor of the worst the Mogull can do against us there, while we have the RACCANERS to friend, and can let their War boats loose to prey upon the Moors in all parts of the GANGEES. That is such a sick condition for them as would soon make the Nabob and the Mogull himself weary of it, as well as of the Depredations we and our private Ships shall be continually making upon all his Coast towns, as well as upon his Shipping, and by the assistance of such Jemidars" (i.e. *Zemindars*) "as you say in your letter of the 25th November are in open hostility against him and his Countrey. . . .

"Our Agent Mr. CHARNOCK will observe our respects and good opinion of him by those Paragraphs of our Generall Letter, now writt to Fort St. George, wherein wee have occasion to mention him."

In their letter to Bengal of 12th December 1687, they write:

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"When we perused your HUGLY Diary, commencing September 1685 and concluding November 1686, wherein we observe the manifold insupportable and hainous abuses offered to you by the Natives of BENGALL, to the robbing of us of almost halfe our Stock, it provokes us as well to indignation, as to admiration, at your insencible patience, that you should let them pass with so easy a correction after you had them at your mercy in HUGLY, and much more that you should be yourselves, and suppose us to be, such weak and unthinking men as to venture our Estates again in the hands of such false and rapacious villains, without a strong Fort at hand to revenge the injuries they may hereafter do us; which we are so far from intending, that we are peremptorily resolved never to send any of our Estate again into BENGALL, untill we know you are well setled and fortified in some strong place of our own, with au English garrison. And it is for that purpose principally, that we have been and are at so vast a charge, in sending out so many strong Ships last year, and so many Souldiers as we have sent this last and this present year; tho' we are not without great fear that your own backwardness and hankering after your profitable easy old habitations, as the Israelites did after the Onions and Garlick of Egypt, may deprive us of the fruit of all our cost . . . . You must seriously consider and lay to heart the Company's excessive charge for the honour of our King and Countrey, and make all possible reprizals you can on the enemy, for our reimbursement, and the maintenance of our forces, the likeliest place for the doing of which effectually, we think, is the surprizall of DACCA itself, if you can contrive such a designe with such Secrecy that the Nabob have no foreknowledge of your purpose."

Again, under date 27th August 1688:

"We have with great impatience read your letter of 26th of August 1687, to our President and Council of the Fort, and are grieved to see how you trifled away time upon frivolous pretences, lost the season of going to CHITTEGAM, and engaged our forces in unhealthy places, to the loss of the lives of many of our worthy Countrymen, and the irreparable dishonour of our Nation, and the ruin of our Trade in BENGALL, if our worthy Generall on the other side of INDIA[1] had not pursued our orders, and thereby recovered the reputation to our King and Nation which you lost by disobeying or neglecting our orders.

"It is a vanity to fancy that your prudence or Subtilty procured at last those good terms you obtained of ABDULL SUMMUD, when you and our forces were by your errours aforesaid reduced to that low condition you were in upon the Island HIGILEY; it was not your wit or contrivance, but God Almighty's Good Providence, which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company, particularly by the success he was pleased to give our Generall on the SURRAT side . . . . This fatall disappointment of the whole Trade of India" (viz., by the strenuous proceedings of Sir JOHN CHILD) "caused insurrections, and an universall lamentation and cry, not only of the Natives but of the other Nations aforesaid, *Peace with the English or We must all Starve*, and this caused the Mogull only of his known humane benign disposition and love to mankind to send *Cossids* and *Dogchuckys* in hast to Bengall and all places to make up the breach, and one of his great Princes to SURRAT in such manner, and with such express instructions, that the English should remain contented.

"From hence we do rationally conclude against the opinion of our Agent Mr.

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[1] *I.e*, Sir John Child, brother of Sir Josia, who is always puffed in the Court's letters.

CHARNOCK that if you had immediately, according to the King our Sovereign's orders and our own, proceeded directly for CHITTEGAM, while our Forces were strong and vigorous, the Mogull would have consented to our holding and Keeping that place in amity with him . . . .

"We are not now willing, suddenly after the pacification, to enter into any new warfare with the Mogull, but hold all his Governours and people strictly to the terms he hath agreed with us . . . .

". . . . Though our Agent be extreamly to blame in the matters before recited, and it may be for want of use, is not so fittly qualified in martiall affairs, yet we will believe he is an honest man, and being so will double his care and diligence in making amends in the cause of our Trade for the errours he committed in warfare, and therefore we will bear him out in his command and in the place we have set him . . . .

"We hope you may so mannage that place or Town of ULLABARREAH which you have articled for, that it may in time become a famous and well-governed English Colony. . . . .

"We hope our Agent, now he is delivered from these perplexities he was formerly engaged in, and from the controul of his secret and peevish enemies of his own Council, and the underhand, dark, and malicious suggestions and designs of interlopers to obstruct the course of his and our honest servants' affairs, will be in a condition to demonstrate that he is a Man of business and dispatch in all Mercantile Affairs, as well as of Justice and fidelity to his Imployers. . . . .

"Your town of ULABARREAH we understand hath Depth of water Sufficient to make Docks and conveniences for the repairing of any of our biggest ships, and is a healthfull place, and therefore we have added a Paragraph to our letter to our Generall . . . . that if he can obtain a Phirmaund from the Mogull for our holding that place fortifyed with the same immunities and priviledges we hold FORT ST. GEORGE, we will be therewith content, without looking further, or being at any new charge in contending for any other fortifyed settlement in BENGALL."

(The Court go on to urge the getting together young men to be brought up as pilots in the Ganges (*i.e.*, the Húglí River), so that the ships should no longer have to ride at anchor in Balasore Roads.)

From Court's Letter to the Fort of 15th February 168$\frac{8}{9}$:

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"Mr. CHARNOCK, after he had agreed the articles of Peace, was too diffident of their Performance, because he had not so soon as he would the *Phirmaund* from the Mogoll to confirm them, which there was no reason for him to expect, untill the Peace was also adjusted at SURRATT. And by that diffidence of Agent CHARNOCK the Company suffered a great deal for want of the Trade they might have had in the Bay, while they had money and ships enough there. But we must confess, being so ill used as he had been before at CASSAMBUZAR, he had reason to be more than ordinarily cautious.

* * * * * * *

"We have no manner of doubt of the continuance of our Peace in all the Mogull's dominions, and therefore we think the sooner our Agent Charnock resettles the ffactoryes at CASSAMBUZAR and MAULDA, from whence we used to have our best Returns, the better it will be for the Company; and since he likes CHUTTNAUTTEE so well, we are content he should build a ffactory there, but with as much frugallity as may be; and we hope he will so continue that busyness, as to the Dutyes of the Town being to be the Company's by the

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Bengall articles. They may in some few years reimburse us the charge of our new Factory, and possibly he may find it necessary to continue a small factory at HUGHLY likewise. But that we must leave to his and Councill's discretion at present, and to our Generall's hereafter."

(There follows a passage on the dismissal of Mr. Trenchfeild, on account of his opposition to Charnock, ending with the remark):

"The experience we have of Mr. CHARNOCK for 34 years past, and finding all that hate us to be enemies to him, having wrought such a confidence in our mind concerning him that we shall not, upon any ordinary suggestions against him, change our ancient and constant opinion of his fidelity to our interest."

Charnock and his Council, as may be gathered, had been establishing themselves at Chatánatí from some date towards the end of 1687, and remained there about a year. But of this interval I can find no particulars whatever. From expressions in the two last letters of the Court which I have quoted it would seem that they no longer contemplated a renewal of the war; they were content that Charnock and the Council (of the Bay) should settle down at Ulabária, or at Chatánatí, if that seemed more promising, provided that they were allowed to fortify themselves there, and to hold the place with the same privileges as were enjoyed at Fort St. George. What were the terms on which Charnock was now settled at Chatánatí we have not been able to ascertain, nor have we the means of either confirming or contradicting what we have quoted from Orme, as to his relations with the Mahomedan Government of the country. But the Court, in writing as they did, appear to have forgotten the torpedo which they had dispatched to India in the beginning of 1688, in the shape of the new ship *Defence*, bearing Capt. HEATH, accompanied by a frigate, and conveying on board a reinforcement of soldiers, whilst the captain himself was armed with an extraordinary commission, which in fact superseded Job Charnock in his chief command of the forces in the Bay. The "Hono^ble^ Comp^a^" as they are generally designated in the abbreviated script of the time, certainly did not habitually shine, in those days, in the selection of their instruments. We have seen how they condemned and cast aside, again and again (as Beau Brummell did his "failures"), the servants whom they had, with every expression of confidence, appointed to the government of Fort St. George, and how little satisfaction Hedges gave them in his well meant attempts to reform the factories of the Bay. But they had never made a worse selection than in the case of the hot-headed, wrong-headed, capricious, and futile, feather-brained skipper whom they now sent to the Húglí entrusted with such powers. We may conjecture that bluster had got him this promotion, and that the promotion itself had turned his head.

We have not discovered precisely when Heath with his reinforcement sailed, but the letter to Fort St. George, announcing his intended

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dispatch, is dated 25th January 1688; and the instructions to himself 10th February.

From Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, *sent on the ship* Defence, *Capt.* WM. HEATH, Commander. Dated London, the 25th January 1688.

"For want of advice from you we are at a very great losse to know what Orders to give you or Captain HEATH, with relation to our affairs in the BAY, but in regard our Chief and Council there made such shamefull delayes in the former expedition, to our excessive charge, and as we fear to the disappointment of the main designe, we are resolved not to trust them in this, but to rely entirely on Captain HEATH'S conduct.

"Being in the dark we can but guess at things, but to reduce ourselves to a probability, we conclude our people have made a Peace, or they have not. If they have made a Peace, and have not fortifyed some considerable convenient place, that will answer all the ends we proposed to ourselves, as well for Trade as for building Docks and other conveniences for repair of our bigest Ships, it is to us as if they had made no Peace at all, and we have allready given them warning sufficient to be at all times in a preparation to come on board our Ships in three dayes time; being fully resolved not to loose another charge in waiting for them, and therefore our positive order is, that in case our Servants in the BAY have not allready fortified themselves in some considerable place, that you conceive may in effect answer all our ends, as well as CHITTEGAM would have done, in such case we say get out Capt. HEATH'S goods and the *Dorothye's* and send them immediately downe to the BAY with what Sloops and Souldiers you think convenient by Sea and Land, for this expedition, making Captain HEATH Commander in Chief, and send him immediately to take CHITTEGAM, which possibly he may surprize with a very small force, coming upon the place when they will not expect him: appoint what officers you think fit to be of his Council . . . . and if it be Capt. HEATH'S fortune comeing upon CHITTEGAM so unexpectedly to surprize that place, he may afterwards send to Mr. CHARNOCK to send a Governor and Council to manage the Company's business there, with what souldiers he can spare from the place of his first settlement . . . . If our Agent and Councill in BENGALL have made such a blunder in the first enterprize, and settled upon such a place as will not in probability ever be made capable to answer our occasions, in such case, rather than remaine under such a disappointment, wee must . . . . as soon as we have sure policy at CHITTEGAM (order) our Agent, Councill, and all our Officers and Souldiers immediately to desert their first imperfect settlement, which we would have you do, and to carry off all our ammunition, people and effects with them to CHITTEGAM, and Captain HEATH, with the shipping and Sloops that go with him, to stay as a guard to that place untill our Agent &ca. with all our strength come to them, from the place of their first ill-advized settlement, Captain HEATH to remaine Governour of CHITTEGAM untill our Agent or Chief and Councill come thither. . . .

". . . . But because it is such a fatall errour in Pollitticks to divide our strength . . . . if the place Mr. CHARNOCK may have already settled and fortified upon will in any measure answer our knowne purpose, in such case, since we can't now help it, we would have you proceed to strengthen that place allready settled, and to forbear proceeding against CHITTEGAM untill you receive further orders from us.

"But it's possible our Agent and Council by a forced misconstruction of

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our orders, may have made Peace without fortifying any place, which is so directly contrary to our plain Orders that in such case there is no apology to be made for them; But you must with all imaginable expedition send Capt. HEATH as aforesaid, to surprise CHITTEGAM, without so much as coming to an Anchor in BALLASORE ROADS; but he may send up one Sloop to the Agent, where ever he is, to order him and all the English to shift in the best manner they can, and come to him at CHITTEGAM.

"Tis not improbable but the Agent and Council may have some Ship or Ships, and some Sloops with them, to bring them off the Shoar, and to carry them to CHITTEGAM, and if the Sloops are not sufficient to bring away all their goods, passengers, and luggage, they may take any Ships or boats of the enemies for that purpose."

The following paragraph is curious, as showing on what inaccurate knowledge and misleading maps these ill-considered projects were formed:

"There is a materiall objection which may be made against the designe as wee have now laid it, vizt., That it will be a very difficult thing for Capt. HEATH, and the Fleet with him, to get up the great GANGES as high as CHITTEGAM without the aid of our Pilots in the Bay . . . . a desperate disease, such an one as the sheepishness of our people in the Bay have brought us to, must have a desperate cure."

"These are the best Orders we can give you while we are so much in the dark . . . . but (now you know fully our sense) (we) leave this matter wholly to your conduct, to do and order therein, what upon serious consideration you shall find most for our advantage."

The Instructions to Capt. Heath are dated the 10th February 168$\frac{7}{8}$. The only points needful to note here are that they constitute him a member of the Council of Fort St. George during his stay in the Madraspatam roads, and the following:

"You will see in our General Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE what orders wee have given our President and Council concerning our affairs in BENGALL, wherein we could be no more positive in our orders, because of the uncertainty we are under here, how our affairs do stand in that Country, *being more at this time than* 13 *months without any advice from that place.* But you are strictly to follow such Orders as you shall receive from our President and Council with relation to that or any other of our affairs."

In accordance with my purpose of giving the history, wherever it is possible, simply by the presentation of original documents, I abstain from compiled narrative. The printing of the two succeeding papers, one by Captain Heath himself, and the other, in criticism of his action, by Charnock and his Council (presumably the work of the Agent himself), necessarily involves some repetition; but it seems desirable to give both views complete of the discreditable story.[1]

[1] Both these narratives, and the minute of the Council of War following, are transcribed by an apparently uneducated hand, and I cannot always make out the words intended.

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"*A Short Accompt*[1] *how affairs stood in* BENGALL *as I*, WILLIAM HEATH *found them upon my Arrivall there in the month of September last, as also of my further proceedings conformable to the Commission Rec'd of the Hon'ble Presedent*, ELIHU YALE *and his Councill in* FORT ST. GEORGE, *bearing date the* 16 *August* 1688: *as followeth:*

"Att my arrivall the 12: September 1688 with the Shipp *Defence* in the Road of Ballasore found only the *Princess of Denmark* there, Capt. HADDOCK Commander, and two Company's Sloops in Ballasore River. I presently acquainted Capt. HADDOCK what order I had, and for the carrying up ourselves and soldiers to CALCUTTA sent for the Sloops first, advising Mr. STANLEY to send of by them from Ballasore what goods he had by him belonging to the Rt Honble Company, which was done, soe myselfe accompanyed with Capt. HADDOCK and the 120 Soldiers we carryed from hence embarked, and about the 20th September arrived at CALCUTTA,[2] where found Agent CHARNOCK with the rest of the Honble Company's servants, only two that were some months before sent to Dacca upon an embassage with presents to the Nabob in hopes to have them Articles confirmed which Agent CHARNOCK made with the servants of the late Nabob SHASTA CAWN. After my arrivall at Calcutta I presently communicated my orders to Agent CHARNOCK and his Councill, who were contented to obey them, upon which I called a Councill, and before was read the Generall Letter which gave accompt of all transactions that happened from the last conclusion of peace made with the Nabob Shasta Cawn's Servants. Upon the whole debate I concluded that it appeared to me impossible to have any of the Rt. Honble Company's demands granted, soe presently desired the Agent and Councill to make all the Investment they could till the 10th November, when I would certainly depart from CALCUTTA and carry with me all belonging to the English nation, except within that time should find better (?) hopes of accommodation from the Nabob, to which purpose according to orders I wrot said Nabob but never Received answer. In all this time, from the 20th September, we employed ourselves in repaireing and fitting the Rt. Honble Company's Shipps and vessels ready for the Sea, and providing with (what) provitions we could; as also Received and wrott several Letters to some that pretended friendshipp to us and favourites of the Nabobs about said business, but to little purpose.

"About the 1st November came MULLICK BERQUORDAR to HUDGLY and, he said, with orders from the Nabob to accommodate all differences between us, but it appeared with an ill face, for presently news came to us that our people at BALLASORE were imprisoned, and they there building a Fort at the end of the River. Also this MULLICK, when he was formerly Governour of HUGLY had noe kindeness for our nation, and now less, being we killed his brother in the fight, and was the Chief person which signed and sealed the late Sham Articles of Peace, soe what could be expected from such a man. Moreover, he declared at first that he must have mony for the Nabob and the 40,000 Rupees which was taken out of the King's Custome house at Ballasore repaid. It was also reported he had made great promises to the Nabob of getting him much money

[1] O.C. 5663.

[2] The first occurrence that I am aware of, in the surviving records, of this now familiar name. It occurs, however, in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*.

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from us, and compell us to a complyance, but when he found the Contrary, that we were really goeing away, and could not be stopt by force, then sent some flattering letters after us as wee sailed down the river, to which we gave him our answer, being nothing in them worth our acceptance.

"Soe about the 17 of November myself with the Agent arrived in BALLASORE Road, where we found our Shipps could have noe refreshments from the Shoare, nor water which we were in great want (of), soe our actions in that place have formerly given an accompt of in severall letters, and our reason why we attacked it. During our stay at BALLASORE we Received Letters from the Nabob that if we would transport 1000 horse and 2000 foot into ARRACKAN (then we should have what we desired in BENGABL) and serve him for 12 months gratis, as Mr. BRADDYLL and Mr. EYRES, the two Embassadores had promised to assist them in taking ARRACKAN, and that if he confirmed the agreement he would send BOHUR MULL to treat further with us. To which Agent CHARNOCK desires to comply withall, although I told him I would not nor could not doe it, yett consented that he might if he pleased answer the Letter that we were ready to doe it, but the season of the year passing away we could not wait there, but would sail towards CHITTAGAUM where we should expect BOHUR MULL, and might be a convenient place to transport the horse and foot immediately to ARRACKAN.

"Soe the 24th December, after we had demolisht their two Forts, and Shipt aboard the guns, and sailed out of BALLASORE road with nine Shipps and vessels besides myeselfe, and had two days before dispatcht two Shipps to the FORT, and 2 towards CHITTAGAWM to search out the Coast, and if possible to send the Rt. Honble Company's Letters formerly dated in 85 to the King of ARRACKAN, with a small present also, to acquaint that we would desire to joyn with him against his and our Enemies, the Mogull and Nabob of DACCA, and to desier his assistance with Provitions, which would be a speedy want with us. But the Shipps went not rightly according to order, but directly to ARRACKAN. I with 2 Saill of Shipps and vessels arrived about the 20th of January before the mouth of the River of CHITTAGAUM, and imediately sent a Pinace up to the town which lyes up the River 8 miles, the boat carrying a flag of truce, and the Gentlemen that was in (it) was to tell the Nabob that we were come to serve them against the ARRACKANNERS, and had Contracted with the Nabob of DACCA, since the little proyl at BALLASORE, to transport 1000 horse and 2000 foot into ARRACKAN, and that we were come here to Receive them, that the Nabob for this service had granted all our former priviledges in BENGALL, and although this tale was not wholly believed yett it gave oportunity to know the strength of the town, which we found no way fortifyed as has been reported, but for men we judged might be in the town and place adjacent 5 or 6000 men at least, but such as will not much discourage a few European soldiers. The reason why we did not assault the place is given under our hands in another paper. From CHITTAGAUM we sailed away the 29th January, after had sent small vessels to search round the Island ST. DEAVES,[1] which lay 5 Leagues from CHITTAGAUM River's mouth; so in 4 or 5 dayes we arrived att ARRACKAN, where found the 2 Shipps I sent away with the King of ARRACKAN's Letter from BALLASORE, and that GEORGE CROKE, one of the Rt. Honble Company's servants, had been with the King, and brought two letters, one to me and the other to the Rt. Honble Company. But upon our Coming sent again 3 factors, and their Instructions were, if possible, to perswade the King to a belief that we intended nothing

[1] The "Island St. Deaves" is *Sandíva!*

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but friendshipp to him, and make a firme peace with him, and joyne as before against the Nabob of DACCA, and because we found the Nabob's forces now at hand, to confirme him of our reallity we offered our service that with his assistance, and direction where the enemy lay, we would goe and fight them presently, doubting not but to send them farther of; but for answer Received only this cold one that if we would goe and take CHITTAGAUM he would send us provitions, but for men at present he had none to spare; and as to the Mores Army that is now near him, they were most made up of his owne slaves, whome he could Chastise when he pleased. Which was all the answer that could be gotten from him, that seems to have little more then the title of a King, the power resting in others. Soe when found could not perswade those foolish people from the present Ruine and Destruction that is just upon them, we watered our Shipps and refresht our men, which were much distemper'd with the scurvey. Soe on the 17: February sailed directly for this place FORT ST. GEORGE, giving orders for every Ship to make the best of her way, that noe time more might be lost, and that perchance if any Mores Shipps were in those Seas we might bye being scattered meet with them."

(Signed by) WM. HEATH.

"*Having perused a paper relateing to the affairs of* BENGALL, *lately delivered in to the Hon'ble* ELIHU YALE *President &ca. Councill of* MADRASS *by Capt.* WILLIAM HEATH; *and findeing some of the most materiall poynts omitted, we cant but make our remarks thereon as followeth:*[1]

"On Capt. HEATHS arrivall at CALCUTTA he makeing his Commission known, a Consultation was called, whereat were present the Agent and Councill, with Capt. HEATH, and all the Commanders of the Europe Shipps; where was represented the State of the Rt: Honble Company's affairs in BENGALL, and the same fully debated, and twas proposed (it being a matter of great consequence) that every one should apart write down their opinions, that from thence a conclution might be drawn for Capt. HEATH'S better information. But he slitingly wav'd the same, saying it would signifye nothing, the affair being soly left to his management. And in fine it was agreed to depart the 10: November from CALCUTTA. But by his Commission we find that the Honble the President &ca. Councill afforesaid strictly enjoyned him to take our advice in all cases, and as much as possible to endevour a peace, intimateing divers particulars material in order thereto, which had he observed we might not only upon freight have sent a Shipp to PERSIA, and (as we had fair prospect) laded a Shipp for ENGLAND, but also might have fill'd up the rest of the vessels with grain. But he in the least not regarding either, we abruptly left CALCUTTA the 8th November 1688, Capt. HEATH not so much as staying to hear what MULLICK BERQUORDAR had to say, who some time before has arrived at HUGLY with Commission from the Nabob BAHAWDER CAWN to treat with us about an accommodation; and was then on his way from HUGLEY, intending to visit and discource us about a resettlement in BENGALL. But, as afore, not staying till he came we parted thence, and after some dayes arrived in BALLASORE Road, where Capt. HEATH divers times sent ashoar Mr. JAMES RAVENHILL, and Mr. WILLIAM BOWRIDGE to the Governor of BALLASORE with mesages to us unknown, but suppose to demand the men and

[1] O.C. 5564.

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goods ashoar. And the last time they were sent together, being the 27 November, Mr. JAMES RAVENHILL coming aboard Shipp again did acquaint us that going ashoar they found the Governor at his Tent at POYNT OF SAND, accompanyed by the King's Duan of DACCAES Deputie then lately arrived with order from his Said Principall to make some inspection into affairs of the province of ORIXA. He with the Governor were pleased to discource them familiarly, asking many questions, and particularly himself made this proposall, that if we would adheare to a treaty of peace the Governor would make a fair step to it by sending of to us all the goods and English ashoar save two, to which proposall Mr. RAVENHILL shewed likeing to itt, and asked the Governor whether he approved thereof. Who consenting thereto replyed Yea, threatning the English ashoar with death if on the Contrary we attempted to make any assault. Notwithstanding which Capt. HEATH the next morning with all the forces went on board the small vessels which were before sent nearer the shoar in order to attack the place, when the Governor sent of people to him requesting peace, and that he'd be pleased to stay but two days, in which time would certainly arrive the Nabob's *Perwana* to our heart's content; which was but what we might reasonably expect from the great hopes Mr. EYRE and Mr. BRADDILL gave us continually by their letters. But this message proved also ineffectuall, for the very next morning, being the 29th November, the forces were landed, and the MORES dispossessed of their Fortifycations at the POYNT OF SAND, and retreated to the town, where no sooner they were arrived but came in a *Perwanna* from the Nabob to us, with letters from Mr. EYRE and Mr. BRADDILL. But, at that Juncture the Governor did not send them to Capt. HEATH, whome he feared was approaching the town, and therefore laid siege to that house where the English were, and ledd them away, only permitting Mr. JOHN HAYNES to come and tell Capt. HEATH that as he favoured the town, so the English in his custody should be used. Now had Capt. HEATH followed the prudent advice of Capt. HADDOCK and others, in landing the forces and marching wide of the Fortifycations at the POYNT of SAND, and soe gone directly to the town, the English with all the Rt. Hon[ble] Company's estate afforesaid might probably have safely been brought off, and the English free from the scandal of being taken prisoners and bound with fetters. But this being not wisely prevented, still grosser errors were committed, for the forces being afterwards arrived at the town, parties went out and committed very great outrages as well against friends as enemys; and amongst other broke into the house of one MIRZA OOLEEQUONDAR, Governor of BALLASORE, a Persian by race, a man of quallity and a well wisher to us, then killing divers of his women, and brought away Captive an Eunuch with a booty of many pretious things, also divers men, women, and children from other houses, which were afterwards sold as slaves, all which not suffising, they violated the wives and daughters of Christians which had taken sanctuary in the Church; also committed Sacriledge in robbing the same, and did such horrid and detestable things which rendered us odious to the government, and produced a protest from the Dutch. After this, and doeing all the damage possible to the Moores, except demollishing the town, Capt. HEATH returned with the forces to the POYNT OF SAND, and the 4: of December in the Evening he came on board Shipp, bringing with him two Generalls[1] from Dacca, dated the 20: and 12: November, with a *Perwana* from the Nabob, also a Letter from BOHER MULL, with a Letter from

[1] Public letters from the Company's factory.

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the Governor of BALLASORE, all which Capt. HEATH Received on his return to the POYNT OF SAND. Mr. EYRE and Mr. BRADDYLL in both their Generalls advised that the Nabob would not grant their requests till that the Agent did confirme what Capt. HEATH by his Letter to the Nabob had promised, and did intreat us to await the issue which they doubted not but would (be) much for the Rt: Honble Company's interest. Next day, being the 5: December, Capt. HEATH and Capt. HADDOCK came down into the great Cabbin where were present the AGENT, Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS, and Mr. JEREMIAH PEACHIE, who had the afforesaid Letters brought and read before them, and after thorough debate thereof, Capt. HEATH and Capt. HADDOCK desiered the AGENT would write his *Arzdost* in answer to the Nabob's *Perwanna*, and Confirme what Capt. HEATH had formerly wrote to the NABOB. And also 'twas agreed to send ashoar a couple of persons to discource the Governor, which was according done; and when they returned came of a Mogull and a Persian writer with them, soe that from both sides people were sent and received, and still the Governor continued to persuade to await the Nabob's pleasure, which would certainly be for our interest, and the 13: December he sent of a second *perwanna* arrived from the Nabob, and the same dispeeded ashoar to the Governor[1] by the hand of Mr. RAVENHILL. The fleet on the 23 December parted from BALLASORE Road, leaveing Mr. RAVENHILL also behinde; and the 17 January we arrived in CHITTIGAUM Road; and the 18: and 20: persons were sent ashoar to make known the intent of our comeing thither, and tho' their reception was not according to expectation, yett they were civillie treated, and desiered to write to the Nabob, and await his answer. And on the 21: Capt. HEATH called a consultation, whereat it was debated whether it would be Convenient to take CHATTIGAUM, and all things considered it was concluded in the negative; after which it was urged that it was for divers reasons highly requisite to write to the Nabob and advise him of our arrivall there with our fleet, purely to serve him, and speedily to desier his finall answer thereabout; and particularly the AGENT, Mr. ELLIS, Mr. PEACHIE, Capt HADDOCK, and Capt HERRON did say that since we were come thither 'twas not only absolutely necessary to write such Letter, but also to stay for an answer, since the Governor there promised to procure the same in six dayes time. To which Capt. HEATH did reply it would signify nothing, for he did not intend to stay for an answer, and that it was never his intent to transport the Nabob's soldiers and horse to ARRACCAN. Whereon 'twas said to him 'Why then did you, by your letter to the Nabob, promise it?' To which he replyed '*there were nothing but lyes wrote on both sides*'; however consented that a letter might be wrote to give notice of our arrivall, which was accordingly done; and the 24th January sent ashoar by SAMUELL PINE, to be delivered, as he sat in the boat, to anybody that should come down to him, with this message that our coming hither was to serve the Emperour and Nabob, but not meeting with such civill treatment as expected, were now minded to be gone; this message was told the Buxie of the place who was there in his tent by the sea side, and gave invitation to SAMUELL PINE to come ashoar, promised us all imaginable kindness, and promised forthwith to dispeed those letters, and entreated we would await their answer. Whereupon Capt. HEATH was desired to lend his boat, and SAMUELL PINE should be sent ashoar to gett some fresh Provisions (not being any on board), and in some measure to try the reallity of what

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[1] Something must be omitted in the old transcription.

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they promised, which being refused, SAMUELL PINE was sent on board Capt. HADDOCK to desire his, which he readily lent, and next morning SAMUELL PINE went ashoar, and at noon came off accompanied by a horseman from the Buxie, and a German from the Captain of the Christians there, bringing divers sorts of Provisions, advising that more were sent for, and that he was civilly treated ashoar by the King's Buxie, who told him that the Nabob's sonne was on the way to that place, with whom he supposed BOHURUN MULL might come, and that in a day or two was expected to arrive in towne the Nabob's Son('s) Harbinger with 500 horse; and that the Buxie intreated we would stay till answer to our Letters, which he had forwarded. The same the horseman and the German repeated, and used all persuasive arguments to stay us, and in the evening returned to the shoar. The next morning being the 26: January, SAMUELL PINE was sent to tell Capt. HEATH that if he would be pleased to stop that day it was thought convenient again to send ashoar, but he refusing to stay did forbear, and in writing did (state) our opinion that it was absolutely necessary to stay till the Nabob's answer should arrive. From divers vessells boats went ashoar, and bought what the market afforded, and on sudden saw the place covered with horse and foot, which they being surprized at did hast to their boats, and on enquiry were informed that this was the new Governor or Nabob's Harbinger arrived with 500 horse, and expected an Englishman to come and visit him, so about noon the boats comeing off, and giving this relation Capt. HEATH, without reguard to what had been said or done, caused the fleet to weigh anchor, and sett sail for ARRACAN, and arrived in said road the 31st January, where Mr. GEORGE CROKE, coming aboard, acquainted us that he had been with the King of ARRACAN, with the Rt. Honble Company's Letter, and brought one in answer thereto from the King, and another to Capt. HEATH, to whom he told the King's reply to the message he was sent with; and on the 2d. Ffeb^y^ Capt. HEATH sent ashoar to the King of ARRACAN divers presents, who therewith returned advising that they delivered their message, which was much slighted, so on the 13th Capt HEATH sent Mr. GEORGE CROKE to invite the devolted (*sic*) prince to come down from his camp and enter into a league with us against the King of ARRACCAN. But before he could returne, Capt. HEATH, leaving him in the lurch, as he did Mr. RAVENHILL at BALLASORE, caused the fleet to weigh anchor the" (*illegible*) "the 15th in the morning, only Capt. HADDOCK staying behind for some of his men who were ashoar, when Mr. CROKE accidentally arriving, came off with them, and at noone coming on board acquainted us that he was very welcome to the revolted Prince, who promised to come downe on Sunday, being the 17th Ffeb^ry^, and discourse Capt. HEATH, saying that the Navob BAHAWDER CAWNE wrote him in the month of Jany that he might expect(?)ten sail of English shipps to his assistance, and promised that if we would assist him he would procure the Navob BAHAWDER CAWNE'S *Perwanna* to our hearts content, as *per* a Paper under Mr. CROKE'S hand more largely appears, to which refer. By all which we have reason to believe that the Navob BAHAWDER CAWNE was reall, notwithstanding what may be alledged to the contrary, and as well wishers to the Rt. Honble Company's prosperity, we cant but be extream sorry that Capt. HEATH should have thus slighted and rejected such good oportunityes and fair offers for the settling the Rt. Honble Company's affairs in Bengall, and in likelihood confirme and conclude an Honble and firme peace, and we should have so oblidged the emperour, by the addition of that Kingdom to his Territories, that not only the confirmation of our Twelve Articles formerly agreed on, the grant of a fortifyed place where we might settle our own Government, together with a discharge for all past damages which the Navob

BEHAUDER CAWNE promised under his hand and seal, would have been recorded to posterity, but now on the contrary 'tis to be feared that the Nabob BEHAUDER CAWNE will be highly inraged at our perfidious dealings, and will improve the same by sending these *Perwannaes* with our Letters and replyes thereto to the Emperour, which will confirm all the lies and stories that SHAISTA CAWN wrote against us, and undoubtedly will extremely incence the Emperour against us. Then Capt. HEATH, tripping from Port to Port without effecting anything, hath not only rendered our nation Ridiculous, but hath unhinged all treaties, by which means the trade of Bengall will be very difficult to be ever regained.

"JOB CHARNOCK.
"*Dated in Madrass ye 22d day of March, Anno* 1688" (i.e. 1689). "FFRANCIS ELLIS.
"JEREMIAH PEACHIE."

"*On board the Shipp* Defence *in* CHITTAGAUM *Road*, this 21 *Day of January* 1688 :[1]

At a Consultation Exterordinary;—present

The Rt. Worpll. JOB CHARNOCK *Esq: Agent*
Capt: WILLIAM HEATH, *Admirall: Mr* FRANCIS ELLISS
Capt: JOSEPH HADDOCK; *Mr* RICHARD TRENCHFEILD
Capt: WILLIAM SHARP: *Mr* JEREMIAH PEACHIE
Capt: GEORGE HERRON: *Capt:* FRANCIS SEATON
Capt: THOMAS WALTROP.

"Being then mett it was debated whether or not it would be convenient and consistant with the Rt. Honble Company's Interest to attack CHITTAGAWM, and considering what condition we were in to attempt the same, and what probability there is of success therein and in reguard we have but little knowledge of the place otherwise then by report the persons that were on shoar (being Mr. ELLIS, Capt. SEATON, and SAMUELL PINE) were asked what success might be expected in such an attempt; to which Capt. SEATON made answer that he beleived with the small forces we have, consisting of 100 and 15 Europeans and 100 and 69 Portuguese Soldiers (being all that at present are in condition for service) and also with the assistance of the Shipps vessels and seamen, in all probability the place might be taken, tho great and populous; soe that after most serious consideration and matured deliberation, we haveing but a small number of men, and haveing att presant not any hopes of aid and assistance from ARRACKAN, at least soe much as provitions, it is our reall opinion that 'twill be impossible to maintain the place when taken till such time as we can have recrutes from MADRASS; being the town is of little strength, and the people very very numerous on shoar, who can continually (*illegible*) our people, our number being small."

(Signed by the above.)

Extract from a General Letter from FORT ST. GEORGE *to the Court, dated 21st September* 1689.[2]

"We have also prest Agent CHARNOCK &ca. . . . . to give us a General Inventory of the treasure, goods, &ca. they brought with them from BENGALL (in) their hurrys there haveing taken them without Invoices, which they likewise

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[1] O. C. 5657. [2] O. C. 5679.

promise to finish and to remitt Your Honours by next Ship. Their number are a great charge to this place, not haveing any other Imployment for them then Marshall Discipline which with all your other covenant servants here are weekly practiseing."

Extract from General Letter from the Council of BENGAL *to the Court, dated* MADRAS, *the* 30*th September* 1689.[1]

(Refer to two last letters by the *Beaufort*, and the *Williamson*) "in both of which we have been most ample, and particularly in the latter bearing date the 20th Aprill 1689, wherein we have given a full Acco' of all requisit Occurrences to that time"[2] .... on the 24th inst. Wee received Duplicate of Your Honours bearing date the 27th of August 1688, and are heartily sorry to find the continuance of Your Honours displeasure for Our not proceeding to CHATTIGAUM, concerning which Wee have in our foremention'd already humbly offer'd our opinion according to the best of our Judgem' .... In our Generall Letter by the *Beaufort*, and Our Diaries of that Yeare wherein Wee have layd downe Our reasons for the altering Our Opinion about ULUBARREEAH and pitching on CHUTTANUTTE as the best and fittest up the River on the Maine, as We have since experienced, and likewise been sattisfyed that ULUBARREEAH was misrepresented to Us by those sent to survay it. But certainly had HIDGALEE been a healthful Island it would have been the most propper and most comodious place in all BENGALL both for Shipping and Traide.

"4. The Agent renders his humble thanks for the favourable Opinion and Esteem Y' Hon" are pleased to signifie of him, the which He will ever indeavour to maintaine.

"We understand that the President hath dismissed Mr. TRENCHFEILD the service, conformable to Your Honours Comands, and We are really of opinion that had he received this exit two years sooner it might have been no small benefit to Your Honours Affairs, and prevented the many troubles Wee have since labour'd under through his being continued." ....

From FORT ST. GEORGE *to Court*, 1*st February* 1689 (*i.e.*, 1690).[3]

".... In confidence whereof (*i.e.*, of Peace) we are resolving to send downe Agent CHARNOCK &ca., BENGALL, to the Bay upon the *Princess* when she arrives .... which we are the more encouraged to by the kind Invitation of the now worthy good Nabob EBRAHIM CAWNE,[4] whose courteous civill usage to the English now there, and pressing endeavours and arguments with the King to make a Peace with us, he being very sensible of the great prejudice the loss your trade has been to these Provinces, as also from his good inclinations to the English, he having been an old friend to your Affaires at PATTANA and particularly known to Agent CHARNOCK, which makes it the more desired for the agents &ca. going

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[1] O. C. 5680.

[2] These unfortunately are not to be found.

[3] O. C. 5698.

[4] The Madras Council at this time never mention the new Nabob without these eulogistic epithets, just as the Court in past years always spoke of "honest Mr. Charnock." A different account of Ibrahím Khán is given in a Patna letter quoted above (Note 2, p. xlv).

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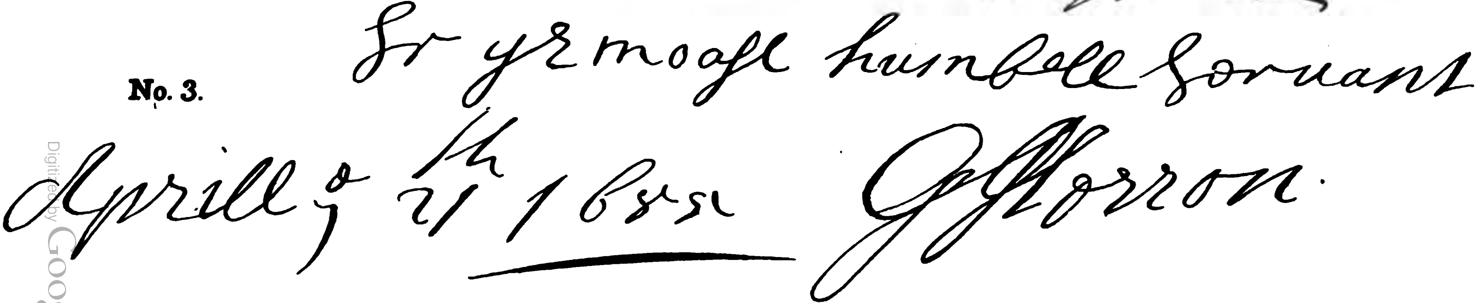
No. 2.

No. 3.



downe, who approves and desires it, that they may have time to make an Investment." . . . .

Charnock and the Bengal Council did accordingly proceed to the Bay in the *Princess*, after a stay at Madras of some fifteen months, arriving at Chatánatí in July 1690 (not 1689 as Orme has it). Now did Job Charnock for the third and last time pitch his tabernacle, in whatever form, here on the fated site of Calcutta. And, if we have a very strong imagination, we may fancy the crabbed old Agent chaunting:

> "Terna *tibi haec primum* triplici *diversa colore*
> *Licia circumdo*, terque *haec altaria circum*
> *Effigiem duco* ; numero deus impare gaudet !"

But of his establishment there we have for the next three years hardly any information; none, so far as I know, save one or two snarling notices in the Fort St. George letters, and that melancholy review left behind by Sir John Goldsborough, which we shall give presently.

Extract of FORT *to* SURAT, 22*nd July* 1690.[1]

(Reports the arrival of the *Kempthorne*, the *Saphir*, and the *Samuell* Ketch) "the two first whereof were a short time after their arrivall Dispatcht for Bengall with severall of the Honble Company's Servants to assist in the business of your Contract, and upon the presumption of the *Phyrmaund* for BENGALL, you assured us of, we under some doubts sent down Agent CHARNOCK &ca. upon the *Princess* with a large Stock for a new Settlement and trade, which God grant they may be successfull in, tho' it had been highly necessary to have known the contents and conditions of our *Phirmaund*, which if it speaks noe better Language than that infamous Scandalous Paper you sent us as a translate of your Suratt *Phyrmaund*, tis scarce worth the acceptance." . . . . (then expresses apprehension that the Bengal *phyrmaund* may require the expulsion of Agent Charnock, which would be an insufferable presumption, and a dangerous example.)

Extract from FORT'S *Letter to the Court, of* 25*th May* 1691.

"They (in Bengal) could dispose of little, nor have they safe goedowns to secure them from dammage, and the truth is they live in a wild unsettled condition at CHUTTINUTTEE, neither fortifyed houses nor goedowns, only Tents, hutts, and boats, with the strange charge of near 100 : soldiers, guardship, &ca. for no business, and a doubtfull foundation, wholly depending on the good Nabob's Stay and favour. . . . . The King's promised Phyrmaund being not yet sent them from SURRATT. . . . . Tis doubted the dispute will last long, GOD grant it ends well, since the Government (notwithstanding our Peace) are still as imperious and arbitrary as ever, and the Agent &ca. little better than a Prisoner at large. . . . . (The President had advised delay till the *phyrmaund* was received &ca.) but the BENGALL gentlemen being in hast to return to their sweet plentyes which sandy MADRASS could not please them in."[2]

It is odd to find presidential jealousies expressed at so early a date.

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[1] O. C. 5271.

[2] This letter is signed only by the President, Elihu Yale, who at this time was at loggerheads with his Council. The Secretary notes at the foot : "*The Councill refuses to sign or give their reasons for it.*"

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Extract of FORT ST. GEORGE *letter to Court, of 2nd November* 1691.

This letter speaks of the *Princess* as having been sent direct home by CHARNOCK with an incomplete cargo, which they could easily have made up at MADRAS, "beleived chiefly to disappoint us or our advices." They complain also that Job will attend to no request for the return of the soldiers to BOMBAY, "which is in so great necessity for them by the late mortality there . . . . but notwithstanding these pressing arguments still keeps them there to guard their Persons, for they have little else to secure (but money) where they are a great charge, and can be of little service, being in a defenceless place as CHUTTANUTTEE, where he continues contrary to all reason, or consent of the Government, who will neither permit building or Factory, nor Merchants to settle or trade with them, but offer a more convenient place for it, two miles below HUGHLEY, but that he will not hear of. Supposed to proceed from his feares of being seiz'd by some of the Government, his irreconcileable enimyes, and for his better security we hear he has bought a great Portuguez frigott for a gaurd ship, soly (wholly?) without our order, consent, or knowledge . . . . and what he means by this and his other expenciveness we understand not, except tis to renew our troubles and disoblige the worthy good Nabob. . . . .

"He continues his old differences with particular men, to the endangering all for the future, and impeeding or delaying our present business, decrying and inveighing against private tradeing, tho' not only freely allowed but also incourag'd by Your Honours Orders . . . . and is the only honest way Your Honours Servants have to advance their fortunes, which the denyall of would put them upon tradeing in other names, to the loss of Your Customes or worser Courses. . . . .

"The Monsieurs have been long idle and quiett at PULLICHERRY, tho' they have violently threatned us this year with a formidable fleet to give us another Vissitt."[2]

On the 10th January 1693[3] Job Charnock died in the settlement which *per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum* he had at length come to found at CHUTTANUTTY. That name is forgotten, but Job's own name should survive as long as the history of England's empire in India, the name of the Founder of CALCUTTA.[4]

The Court, so far as I can discover, dropped but two scanty tears over the memory of this old and favourite servant. One is thus recorded (letter to Bengal, of 3d January 1693-4):

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[1] O. C. 5777.

[2] Again signed only by Elihu Yale.

[3] Orme, and all other writers, so far as I know, place Charnock's death in 1692, misled by the O.S. Calendar used in the epitaph (quoted below, p. 40).

[4] We may state here briefly that of the three villages which went to form the English settlement, viz., *Chatánati*, *Kálikata*, and *Govindpúr*, the first, or *Chuttanutte* of the records, occupied the northern quarter of the present city; *Calcutta*, the site of the present European commercial quarter, St. John's Church and the Bara Bázár; and *Govindpore*, the area now occupied by Fort William and its esplanade.

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"We have none of yours to answer, but by a letter from Captain KNOX" (the famous Ceylon captive) "who is arrived at Cork in Ireland (for which God be praised) we hear of the death of our good Agent Mr. CHARNOCK, for which we are very sorry, but we must all submitt to God's will.

"In his stead we do appoint Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS to succeed Agent, and with the same authority as we did lately invest our late Agent CHARNOCK, with only some little qualification, with respect to the greater and more full authority of our Generall of India S[r] JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH . . . ."

Le Roi est mort, Vive le Roi!

In their letter to Fort St. George of the same date they write:

"We find none of your letters unanswered but that of 10th February 169½, and that of the 14th October 1692. The former part of the first letter contains only a multitude of complaints against the deceased Agent CHARNOCK, who was always a faithfull Man to the Company, and therefore it is no wonder Mr. YALE did not affect him."

Of CHARNOCK's character it is not easy on the existing data to form any judgment even approximately complete. The intelligent and well-informed author of an article in the *Calcutta Review*, which has been already quoted, says of Charnock:

"His name is inseparably connected with the metropolis of British India, which he was accidentally the instrument of establishing; but there does not appear to have been anything great or even remarkable in his character. He had no large or comprehensive views; he was vacillating, timid and cruel."

We cannot claim a high character for Charnock. But to the latter part of the judgment which I have just quoted I object, and question its grounds. The charge of cruelty is based, we presume, on the talk of Alexander Hamilton; it is impossible to view this as more than gossip. The charges of vacillation and timidity are based, we again presume, on the fault found by the Court with his conduct of the first exodus from the Upper Húglí. We can see that Job mistrusted (though, we apprehend, justly) the wisdom of the orders given, especially as to the seizure of Chittagong; and his own notion of occupying Hijilí as a fortified settlement showed what may doubtless seem strange ignorance of the sanitary character of such a position. But, setting aside this as a serious mistake, he showed no lack of spirit in his action since February 1687, when he saw that the Nabob and his people, by their negociations, were only trying to gain time; and certainly none in the defence of the miserable position in Hijilí; and no lack of resource in the notable stratagem by which he imposed upon the enemy! For the follies of the second phase of the war, under Captain Heath's conduct, Charnock is not answerable; though the manner in which he apparently participated in the attempted double dealing, or worse than double dealing, between the Nabob and the parties in Arakan, shows that he had no strong moral sense. Neither, however, let it be recollected, did his contemporaries, whether in India or in Europe, shine in that respect. The high esteem in which he was held

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by his masters in London could hardly have maintained itself for so many years without some substantial foundation. My view of him, pieced together from the fragmentary impressions which are alone available, would be that of an imperfectly educated, and coarse and wilful, but strong man, who had spent his life in almost isolated positions among natives, and had been deeply tinged with native habits of thought and action, but who maintained a general loyalty to the Company whom he served, though he was by no means so scrupulous as they gave him credit for being. It must be confessed that the picture painted by Sir John Goldsborough—who, as "Generall" of the Company's establishments, visited the new settlement about nine months after Job's death—of the late Agent, and of the tone and character of the Company's servants under his rule, is a very unfavourable one; but some part of the blurs which this picture reveals, such as habitual indolence, may probably be ascribed to the length of Charnock's service, at that time almost unprecedented, in an Indian climate, and to the operation of its natural influences on the members of a very scanty and low-toned society.

To make these notices as complete as I can, Hamilton's notices of Charnock, or *Channock* as he calls him, are here extracted:

"The English settled there about the Year 1690 . . . . Mr. JOB CHANNOCK being then the Company's Agent in BENGAL, he had Liberty to settle an *Emporium* in any Part on the River's Side below HUGHLY, and for the sake of a large shady Tree chose that Place, tho' he could not have chosen a more unhealthful Place on all the River . . . . One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in *August* about 1200 English, some Military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants residing in the Town, and some Seamen belonging to Shipping lying at the Town, and before the begining of *January* there were 460 Burials registred . . . .

"Mr. CHANNOCK choosing the Ground of the Colony, where it now is, reigned more absolutely than a *Rajah*, only he wanted much of their Humanity, for when any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe whipping for a Penalty, and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, so near his Dining-room that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquents served him for Music.

"The Country about being overspread with *Paganism*, the Custom of Wives burning with their Deceased Husbands is also practised here. Before the *Mogul's* war, Mr. CHANNOCK went one time with his ordinary guard of Soldiers, to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by Force from her Executioners, and conducted her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had several Children; at length she died, after he had settled in CALCUTTA, but instead of converting her to *Christianity*, she made him a Proselyte to *Paganism*, and the only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a Tomb over her, where all his Life after her Death he kept the anniversary Day of her Death by sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the *Pagan* Manner; this was and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by *Christians* and *Pagans* who lived at CALCUTTA under his Agency, that the Story was really Matter of Fact."

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The story of the Hindoo widow is probably another version of the more scandalous one recorded by Hedges at p. 52. It is not likely that a European at Patna, or elsewhere in the country, could have ventured in those days to abduct a *Sati* widow from the pyre. The tomb which Charnock erected over the lady's grave may very possibly be the dome which still stands in the churchyard of St. John's Church, spoken of by Mr. Barlow at p. 40. But, in spite of the Christian and Pagan testimony, we suspect it would be hard to reconcile with "the Pagan Manner", or Hindu rites, the sacrifice of an unclean bird (to Æsculapius?). That Job was too apt to use the whip is, we fear, to be traced even now under his own hand,[1] but it does not follow that he delighted to feast his ears with the cries of the delinquents.

I now give the passages above alluded to from Sir John Goldsborough's Report.[2]

Extract from a letter written by Sir John Goldsborough, which is enfaced, "*This letter was left unfinished at Sir* JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH'S *death, and brought from* BENGALL *by Capt.* DORRILL, *into whose hands Sir* JOHN *committed his papers relating to the Company's affairs, and seemed to be wrote about October* 1693."[3]

"On the 4th of August we set sayle for BENGALL (from Vizagapatam) and arrived at CHUTTANUTTEE the 12th D°, where I found your Honours Servants in great disorder, and that every one did that which seemed good in their own Eyes, as Capt. DORRILL had advised me in Severall Letters to Madras, to which referr your Honours, who were very happy in posting Capt. DORRILL as Second here, by whose prudent Carriage they thought he had some secret orders and power,

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[1] In a letter from the Council at Húglí to that at Balasore, dated 3d June 1686, there is a postscript which I take to be in Charnock's own writing: "If the Peons come in five dayes, give them 4 ans:" (*annas*) "*buxees*; if they stay longer *Chawbuck* them, and for the future the hour when dispeeded is on the backside, we expect the same from you."

[2] O.C. 5899 and 5900; duplicates, of which the last seems most correct.

[3] Sir John embarked at Madras on the brigantine *Gingerlee*, 29th July, and reached Chatánatí 12th August. The Agent (ELLIS) and Councill met him at "Sea Crowle (?) from whence" (he writes in his Diary) "we came hither in the R.H. Company's Barge Budgrow." He died there November 1693; not in the following January, as Bruce states by oversight (iii, 158). His mistake may be explained by the quotation given in the text from the Bengal letter of 16th April 1694, where the date "26th January" applies to Mr. Eyres taking charge of the Agency. See in Part III, under ELLIS.

Most of the copies of his last letters that have been preserved in the I.O. are dated from *Chuttanuttee* (or *Chuttanutte*, as was more common), but one or two are dated CALCUTTA.

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that bridled them very much in their disorders, which If he had not been here they would not have known where to have ended with them. Such wretched men many of these are. But I have great hopes by removing the worst of them from hence to Madras, I shall be able to work a Thoro' reformation amongst the Rest.[1]

"I have begun with Captain HILL, who was the Secretary and the Capt. of the Soldiers, who was allowed to keep a punch-house and Billiard table Gratis when others paid for it, and to make two false Musters besides his pay for it, and his house gave Entertainment to all Strangers whatsoever, and he himself an open tempered man, and debauched in his life, who hath lett his wife turn papist without Controull.[2] And this man neither Mr. CHARNOCK nor ELLIS dare Contradict because they Looked uppon him a fitt man to dictate their Consultations and Letters, whilst the Slothfulness of Mr. CHARNOCK[3] nor the Ignorance of ELLIS would not lett them doe itt theirselves, but he must doe all, and tell it to every one that came, and carry your Honours business about in papers with him aboard of Ship, or any whether where he went; whome I have turned out of all but your Honours' Service, and keep him in itt vntill I have gott him from hence to MADRAS with his family (for here God willing he shall not abide), being a man to whom God and his friends have given due Measure, but he hath turned itt all to froth, and Excepting dictating for them, as I have said, out of Necessitie to hold in with them, his frothy vices hath swallowed him up, and all his Ingenuity, which God hath plentifully supplied him with, soe that it will be very Difficult for him to Reduce from his vilde Loose Life, to be fitt for Business.

"Mr. CHARNOCK had what power your Honours could give him, Yett I am well Informed would never have reformed this place, for first he was poysoned with the Expectation of a new Company; which Mr. BRADDYLL upon some Occation had the Confidence to tell him; in a little time he would not be 'his Worship' but 'Mr. CHARNOCK', and then he would require Satisfaction of him. This affront Mr. CHARNOCK swallowed very patiently, as fearing it would be soe, and the Law Courts at Madras Scared him Exceedingly, Soe that he was affraid to thinke of medling with anybody. Next, he had another Strainge disposition. He Loved Everybody should be att Difference, and Supported a Serjeant that sett them to Duelling, till Capt. DORRILL told him the Evill thereof, and allways was a friend to CHARLES PALE, one of the factors, whose Master peece was, to Invent differences Between Man and Man, and deeply Swear to the most Extravagant

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[1] In his diary he says he found too many factors, and writes: "They are soe many that not above half hath business, soe they become Idle and Studdy Mischief and Quarrells, but God willing I hope to put an End to that."

[2] Sir John's Diary (O C. 5885) mentions these facts about Hill, and also that he had reduced the Soldiery from 40 to 23 (including a drummer and two Sergeants), and that when the Factory should be built the number might be reduced to one half. The Paymaster was also to let the Soldiers know "that they are to have but 4 Rs. each per month; if they will not serve for that, they may goe where they will, for Considering the plenty and Cheapness of provisions, that is great Wages."

[3] In a letter of 1690 Mr. Stanley, at Balasore, says he had sent off 6 *Cossids* in succession, without getting any answer to the letters they carried.

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Lyes he could Invent, but God hath removed PALE, a little before I Came, by death. Further he had another faculty of finding fault with most under him, and when Capt. DORRILL hath caused some of them to be called, he would say nothing to their faces; nor never tell them of their faults. But I need noe other Instances of this than that he hath made great Complaints home to your Honours of Mr. PEACHY and Mr. BOWRIDGE, and Some of Mr. ELLIS, but still let them remaine and goe on as they would; without reforming what was Amiss, and delighted to putt things off by Delay or referring them home, and this I believe is most true, that he never wronged your Honours in the price of your Goods, but he rejoyced to find matter to accuse others of soe doing, and thought it was Enogh to write of it home without medling with them here, which may be seen in the Complaints home against PEACHY and BOWRIDGE aforesaid. These and many Such like things are the Reasons why there would have been noe reforme in this place, for when he who should reforme and Quiett all loves to sett others at Difference, what Can be Expected? But I forbear (he being dead) tho' Much More might be said on this Subject.

"Mr. ELLIS by appointment Succeeded Mr. CHARNOCK, who is a Man too Easy and weake to stand alone in the head of such an affaire as this is, and of too Loose a Life to give any good Example or Govern this place; his weaknesses being too publiquely known to all both English and Natives to have any respect or regard from them. Therefore I must of Necessity put him by, and leave Some body else in his roome when I goe hence, which I cannot resolve on who, till I have seen them all, having ordered all the factors at DACCA, MOLDA, and CASSIMBAZAR to End their Investment and come down hither. But I think it must be Mr. EYRE, who is but little Complaind off. Only they say he is very much for the Country habits and Customes. Yet when Capt. DORRILL discoursed Mr. CHARNOCK uppon his death bed, he left Mr. EYRE out of the number of those whom he named as fitt for business. That was Mr. BEARD, Mr. STANLY, and Mr. BRADDYLL. When they are all here I intend, God willing, to resolve which of the factorys to Lay Down, but at present I think DACCA, Keeping of a Vacqueell there to doe the business at Court; and Consider what your Honours Orders given hither by the *Dorothy*, the 18th of February 169?, about ffactorys.

"Mr. BEARD is too young to be put to the head of these affaires.

"The Miscarriages here, many of them are allready Rectifyed, which are to many for a Letter, but may better be seen in the Consultations of the place after my arrivall the 12th of August, to which your Honours may please to be referr'd, amongst which your Honour will see I have retrench'd the Charges of this one ffactorie near 4000 Rups. a year Idley thrown away, the perticulars of which I have sent inclosed."

(Here follows an account of the overbearingness of the "Popish priests," etc.)

"And all this Came to pass by the None regard this and the former Agent had for our Religion, and by the Incouragement HILL's wife had putt into the Papists, by whose Example severall of English men's black wives turned Papist that were not soe before . . . ."

* * * * * * *

Sir John also writes to Mr. EYRES from "CHUTANUTTE, 8ber y[e] 30th 93":

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"When I came hither I found y. Agent and Councill had been Remiss in not marking out a place whereon to build a factorie on, if we should hereafter be Libertized to setle here, and by that omission of theirs noebody knew where, or how to build, but everyone built straglinly where and how they pleased, even on the most properest place for a factorie, and have dug holes and tancks that will cost the Company mony to fill up agen, and the longer they Run, the worse would be the Evill. Therefore I thought fitt to order the Inclosing a peece of ground with a Mud wall, whereon to build a factorie when we have a perwanna for it, which I mean to goe in hand to inclose in a day or two. This is all I know of this matter. Further upon the Walshes house, bought for the Company, I intend to build above Staires upon the 2 Tarresses 4 Rooms or Chambers, that I may bring in the Accomptants and Secretaries, and the books and papers in their Charge, within this brick house, which now Ly scattering abroad in thached houses Lyable to the hazzard of fire every day. Therefore Rest sattisfyed that I shall not run soe hastily about such a worke as your intelligencer thincks."

The following extract shows how Sir John's arrangements were carried out after his death:

From the Bengal Council to Sir JOHN GAYER *at* BOMBAY, dated "CHUTANUTTE, the 16th of Aprill 1694."[1]

"It may not be impertinent if we give your Excellency a brief accompt of Affairs here, and of alterations the late Company's Generall Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH was pleas'd to make some time before his Death, which was in the dismission of Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS from the Agency, and placing CHARLES EYRE in his roome. But the orders were not divulged till after Sir JNO.'s Death and the Shipping had received their Dispatches, it being his desire to Capt. DORRILL to keep it private till then, which was the 26th January last, when the said CHARLES EYRE took the charge of the Agency upon him, the Orders being read publickly before all the Rt. Hon. Company's Servants, and Mr. ELLIS resign'd the Charge."

(The letter is signed by Charles Eyre, John Beard, and Edward Cornell.)

In Mr. Barlow's note at p. 40 he has quoted at length the epitaph in St. John's churchyard on Job Charnock himself, and that on his elder daughter, but not that on the younger, which we may as well give to complete the family record:

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[1] O. C. 5914. I regret to say that O.C. No. 5901, which the Index intimates to contain "Last Orders of Commissary-General and Supervisor Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH confirming all previous ones; appointing Mr. CHARLES EYRES Agent, directing Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS to proceed to Madras" has disappeared from the volume—I fear abstracted. It should have been an interesting paper.

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Hic Jacet
CATHERINA WHITE
Dom JONATHANIS WHITE
Uxor Dilectissima
Του Μακαριτου JOBI CHARNOCK
filia natu minima
Quae primo in partu et ætatis flore
Annum Agens unum de Viginti
Mortem obiit heu! immaturam
21 Januarii 1700[1]
Siste parumper Christiane Lector
(Vel quisquis es tandem) et mecum defle
Duram sexus muliebris sortem,
Qui per elapsa tot annorum millia
Culpam Primæ Ævæ luit Parentis
Et luet usque dum eternum stabit
"In dolore paries filios"
Gen. 3. 16.

There is also a stone in memory of her husband, JONATHAN WHITE. "Angli et in rebus Anglicis administrandis in hoc BENGALAE regno olim Secundi." He died 23rd Jan. 1703.[2]

I should observe that the name of the husband of Charnock's eldest daughter was not FYRE, as in the printed copies of her epitaph, but EYRES. CHARLES EYRES (some years later Sir Charles) was the gentleman named in Sir John Goldsborough's letter to be the best successor to the agency, and did succeed as has been seen.[3]

I have recently, in the British Museum Library, come on an insignificant but curious memorial of both these ladies. They seem for some reason to have sent little presents to the Lady Wentworth, wife of Sir Henry Johnson, M.P. The lady desired to make some return, and in her husband's letter-book (Addl. MSS., 22, 186, ff. 91 and 103 *v.*) I find two draft letters, one intended apparently for each of the ladies in Calcutta. This at least is the way I interpret the matter; though they are so nearly identical, except in the address, that it is a little puzzling. Here they are, side by side:

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[1] *I.e*, N.S. 1701.

[2] *I.e.*, N.S. 1704.

[3] No care seems to have been taken in those days to discriminate between a name having a terminal *s* and the resembling name without the *s*. In the records which we have been quoting so largely, and in Hedges' Diary, we find *Pitt* and *Pitts*, *Pytts*, and even *Pittz*, *Master* and *Masters*, and now *Eyre* and *Eyres* used indifferently. *Eyres* is the name in the record of his original nomination. The *Eyre* would easily become *Fyre* by an accident, as the inscription is stated to be in relief. See also under EYRES in Part III.

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No. 1.

Blackwall Decemb^{r} 20th 97

Madam,

Your kind Present of Musline I had Rec^{d} by my Kinsman Capt RAYNES: & most Owne myself much Ingaged to you for Itt & know not how to Retalliate your favour being Ignorant of all fforreins Affares therefore I hope my Ignorance will Plead my Pardon: I have sent by Capt. RAYNES & Capt. BRIDGES one each of them a Head drest after our English ffashion and a Gurdell wch I hope will come Safe to your hands; I could wish they whare worth your exceptance for my Dull could think of nothing ells to send beleiving y^{t} in your Pleasant Countrey nothing can be a Rarity but w^{t} came from itt: therefore hopeing for your Good Company in England is but biding you to your loss tho' I should be very Glad of y^{t} Happines & desier you to beleve

I am madam
Your most humble servant

MARTHA { WENTWORTH[1] & JOHNSON

MARTHA { WENTWORTH & JOHNSON

For Madam ARESS
att Chitty Nutty
BENGALL

No. 2.

Blackwall Decemb^{r} 20th 1697

Madam

I cannot do less than Return you my Thanks for your Generous Present of fflowered Musline you where Plesed to send me by my Kinsman Capt RAYNES, and tho I am unknown to you I should be Glad to be better acquainted with you by Paper Messingers (till Plese God to send you into England) if your Plesant Country (as I am informed) doth not incline you to stay in itt & debarr us of y^{t} Happiness.

I have sent by Capt. RAYNES & Capt. BRIDGES in each of their Ships A head Drest up after our new ffashion & a Gardell a Present not worth your exseptance but I could not tell what to send ells being wholly unskillfull in what is agreeable in those fforran Partes. I desier you to give me your Commands by all Conveances & they shall not only be joyfully Rec^{d} but Puncktually observed

Madam by
Your most humble Servt

M. J.

For Madame KATHERINE CARNOCK
at Chittynutty
In BENGALL

The drafts themselves are in the handwriting of Sir Henry Johnson, with many erasures and corrections, and one of them is on the back of the draft of another letter also in his writing.

In conclusion, I may notice two native versions of the Charnock exodus, which appears even before the middle of last century to have assumed a legendary form. The first is given in the Notes to Orme's *Historical Fragments*, from that author's MS. collections. It runs as follows:[2]

"JOB CHANOCK was appointed by the English East India Company, governor of their factory at GOLGOT[3] near HUGHLEY, where a quarrel arose with the King's

[1] These names are twice scrawled, as if the lady was trying her signature in this form.

[2] *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, etc., 1805, pp. 281-285.

[3] This name, *Golgot*, and the corresponding *Gholghát*, in the subsequent extract from Muhabbat Khán, indicate the name of the particular locality where the English factory at Húglí was situated. And some confusion of this name with that of Calcutta may have led to the curious error of the Frenchmen Luillier (1702) and Sonnerat (1782), the former of whom calls Calcutta *Golgonthe*, while the latter says: "Les Anglais prononcent et écrivent *Golgota*".

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people upon a soldier's going to buy mutton. As the dispute ran very high, JOB CHANOCK wrote to MADRAS for a strong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly sent him. These troops were quartered at a little distance in the daytime, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garrison. Thus strengthened JOB CHANOCK meditated revenge, and commenced hostilities against the King's people, by attacking ABDUL GUNNEE, the phousdar of Hughley, who being discomfited in the first day's fight, fled a considerable way, and sent an account of his proceedings to the King. On receipt of this letter, the King detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a great body of horse and muskeeters, to his assistance. Upon this junction the phousdar held a council of war; in consequence of which the army was divided into two equal parts, one of which was stationed at HUGHLEY, and the other sent to TILLIANPURRAH near GHERETTY GARDEN, and TANNA fort near SURMAN'S. These parties were furnished with iron chains, which they stretched across the river, to obstruct the passage of vessels. JOB CHANOCK, on advice of this step, abandoned the fort, and embarked all the troops, stores, and baggage, on board his shipping: he himself went in a budgerow, ordering his people to fire the villages on both sides the river. When he came to TILLIANPURRAH, he broke the chain; and being fired upon by the King's people, from both shores, returned it from his fleet, and landed a small body to keep them in play. In this manner he fought his way down to Tannahs fort, where he forced the second chain. Here the King's people halted; and JOB CHANOCK dropt down to INGELEE. A few days after, the Bengal King marched down against the Southern King. When he reached the Southern Country, JOB CHANOCK went, attended by BENJAH GUNGAROO, BEYAH BOSEMAN, and Dr. CHUNDERSEEKER, to prefer a petition to his majesty, which was delivered by a vacqueel, who had instructions to be very loud in his complaints, the moment the fleet began to fire, which he was to tell the King was a salute in compliment to his majesty. The King then inquired what was the purport of his business; to which he replied, that the English Company had sent Mr. CHANOCK out as governor of their factory at GOLGOT, to conduct their trade under his majesty's protection; but that the Nabob and the phousdar of HUGHLEY had, upon a slight dispute about some meal, taken these violent measures, and driven them down to INGELEE; where, adds the vacqueel, my master pays his devoirs to your majesty by a discharge of all his cannon.

"The King, having heard this story, ordered him to bring his master into the royal presence. The vacqueel having reported the substance of his conference with the King, and his order for Mr. CHANOCK'S appearing in person, Mr. CHANOCK made the vacqueel a handsome present, and ordered his army to attend him to the King, by way of Asswaree.[1] Job made a salam Koornis, or low obeisance, every second step he advanced, and stood with folded arms beside his majesty, who promised to do him justice. At this juncture some of the King's people whispered him, that his provisions were quite expended, which JOB CHANOCK observing created much uneasiness in his majesty, ordered his people privately to bring an ample supply of every kind, from his fleet, which he presented the King. This hospitable, generous act, so won upon his majesty, that he desired him to ask what he had to solicit in return. Job replied, the first command he requested his majesty to lay upon him, was to order him to defeat his enemies. The King cheerfully accepting this offer he quitted the presence instantly, and joining a few of the King's troops with his own, marched immediately against and routed the enemy, and then paid his Koornis to the King again, who loaded

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[1] I.e., *Suwdri*, retinue.

him with presents, and granted him a perwannah for CALCUTTA. After this victory the King returned to Delhi, and JOB CHANOCK took possession of CALCUTTA, which, after clearing of the jungles he fortified. That, or the succeeding year, some gentlemen came out with a recruit of stores and soldiers. JOB CHANOCK, upon the arrival of this fleet, sent the King a very handsome present of European things, under charge of his vacqueel, Dr. CHUNDERSEEKER his physician, and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi, they learnt that the King lay so dangerously ill, that none but his physicians were admitted into his presence. The ambassadors, considering what could, under this dilemma, be done in execution of their commission, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them, his majesty was sorely tormented with caruncles, which his physician could not cure, and that all access had been denied to him on that account. One of the English gentlemen, who was a physician, undertook the task, and was conducted by the vizier to the King, whom he made a perfect cure of, to the inexpressible joy of the whole court. He was honoured with a genteel qualification, and received a present for the company, accompanied with a phirmaund excusing them from all duties. The ambassador, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to some succeeding Shah, preferred a petition, desiring they might pay a quit rent, or small annual consideration, which being agreed to by the King, they returned to CALCUTTA."[1]

The other and still more mythical version of the Charnock legend is given in Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, from a history by the Nawab Muhabbat Khán, written apparently near the beginning of this century. The following is the story as given in this book :[2]

"CALCUTTA formerly was only a village, the revenue of which was assigned for the expenses of the temple of KÁLI DEVI, which stands there. . . . . I now proceed to an account of the foundation of the city, and how the Honourable Company's factory was maintained at GHOLGHÁT and MUGHALPURA, near HUGLÍ. Suddenly, at about sunset, when the English officers were at their dinner, a violent bore arose in the river, and fell with such force upon the shore that the factory was in danger of falling down. The officers ran out in great consternation and saved their lives. Mr. CHÁNAK, their chief, having purchased the BENÁRASÍ BÁGH, which belonged to the Company's agent at GHOLGHAT, near the city, cut down the trees and founded a factory, the buildings of which were raised two and three stories high. When the compound was made, and the rooms were ready to be roofed in, the nobles and chief men among the Saiyids and Mughals, who were great merchants, went to Mír Nísir, *Faujdár* of HUGHLÍ, and declared that if the strangers were allowed to ascend their lofty houses, they, the Mughals, would be greatly dishonoured, seeing that the persons of their females would be exposed to view. . . . . The *faujdár* . . . . prohibited all the masons and carpenters from carrying on the work, and ordered that no one should go to the factory. Mr. CHÁNAK, with great indignation, prepared to fight; but as he had a very small force, and only one vessel was present at the time, while the Mughals, who were joined by the powerful *faujdár*, had assembled in great number, he saw no

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[1] This rigmarole curiously mixes up Job Charnock with the surgeon Wm. Hamilton and his patriotic action, some twenty-five years later in date.

[2] *Elliot*, ed. by *Dowson*, viii, 378, *seq.*

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advantage in taking any hostile measure against them, and was obliged to weigh anchor. He had a burning-glass in his ship, with which by concentrating the sun's rays he burnt the river face of the city as far as CHANDERNAGORE. With a view to avenge this injury, the *faujdár* wrote to the police station at MAKHUA, with orders to stop the vessel. The *thánadár* accordingly, in order to prevent the passage of the vessel, prepared an iron chain, each link of which was ten *sirs* in weight, and having made it in length equal to the breadth of the river, kept it ready and made it firm to the wall of the fort. The chain being extended across the river, the vessel was thus intercepted; but Mr. CHÁNAK cut through the chain with a European sword, and went on his way. He took his vessel out to sea, and proceeded towards the Dakhin.

"In those days the Emperor AURANGZEB was in that part of the Kingdom, straitened by his enemy for provisions, and his camp was reduced to starvation. Upon this the chief of the factory in the CARNATIC sent vessels laden with grain, showing great consideration for the throne, and proved of great service. The Emperor was much pleased with the English people, and desired to know the Honourable Company's wishes. The English chief requested him to grant a *sanad* and *farmán*, giving permission to establish factories in all parts of the Kingdom, and particularly in Bengal. The request was granted, and royal orders exempting the Hon. Company's ships from custom duties, fixing a sum of 3000*rs.* and *peshcash* to be presented to the *bakhshí* of the port, and giving permission for the establishment of factories, were issued. Mr. CHÁNAK returned with the royal *farmáns* from the Dakhin to Bengal. He sent his agents with the *peshkash* and some presents to JA'FAR KHÁN, and obtained permission to erect a factory in CALCUTTA. Mr. CHÁNAK accordingly erected a new factory at the place where he anchored after returning from the Dakhin, which is known by the name of CHÁNAK.[1] He founded the city and populated it, and gave a

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[1] It is curious to find this persistent but mistaken statement in a native writer. CHÁNAK or ACHÁNAK is the name by which (not the old Fort but) Barrackpore is known to the natives; and the story that it derived this name from JOB CHARNOCK is commonly believed and repeated by Anglo-Indians, even in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (s. v. *Barrackpur*). A writer in the *Calcutta Review*, already quoted (vol. iii, p. 460), goes so far as to say: "It is known to the natives only by the name of *Chanuck*, though it is more than 150 years since Charnock established his bungalow at this station, and gathered a little bazar around it." I now believe this notion to be quite erroneous, though in printing the article *Achanock* in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, I was disposed to accept it. But in the *Supplement* to that work I have shown cause against it. The place appears (*Tsjannok*) in a map given by Valentyn in his great History of the Dutch East Indies (vol. v), and this map was prepared by Van der Broecke, who was Dutch Chief at Húglí in 1662. The Court also, in a letter written about December 1677, offer a handsome reward to the officers and crew of any of their ships which should go up the river to HÚGLÍ, "or at least as far as CHANNOCK." Charnock, we have seen, who came to India in 165$\frac{5}{6}$, was fixed at Patna as early as 1663, and probably some time before, as well as for many years after. It appears almost impossible that he could have been living at Barrackpore, or given his name to a place in that position, before 1662, or even before 1677.

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stimulus to the trade of Bengal. That factory is well known to this day by the name of the Old Fort."

In concluding this compilation I think it well to append a chronology of the events that led to the foundation of Fort William :

Beginning of critical differences with the Nawab's Government	End of 1684.
The KÁSIM BÁZÁR Factory boycotted	About April 1685.
Agent BEARD dies	28 Aug. 1685.
CHARNOCK reaches HÚGLÍ	April 1686.
Fleet arrives from ENGLAND	October 1686.
Outbreak at HÚGLÍ	October 28, 1686.
CHARNOCK and English retire to CHATANATÍ	Dec. 1686.
Make war and take THANA Forts	February 1687.
Occupy HIJILÍ and attack BALASORE	February 1687.
Beleaguered by the Nawab's Troops in HIJILÍ	March to June 1687.
Come to terms with Abdal Samad	June 1687.
Second time occupy CHATANATÍ	About Nov. 1687.
Captain HEATH arrives at CHATANATÍ	September 1688.
Abortive Expedition to CHITTAGONG	January 1689.
Withdraw to MADRAS	March 1689.
Return to BENGAL, and third occupation of CHATANATÍ	July-Aug. 1690.
CHARNOCK dies	Jan. 10, 1693.

Addendum.—In reference to Sir John Goldsborough's report on the Company's servants at p. xcii, I find the following in the Court's Letter to Bengal of 6th March 1694-5 :

"We hear some of you are become Bullies and Hectors, and that there has been challenging and fighting among you, which is so unbecomeing and destructive to Merchants that we do hereby make it for a standing Rule and Law, that whosoever shall giue a Challenge to fight any of our English Servants, shall forfeit to the Company 200 Pagodas, besides the immediate loss of his Place. And who shall accept any challenge or fight any Duell shall forfeit 400 Pagodas besides the loss of his Place, to be recovered by Action or Information .... So that if our Agent for the time being should happen to be of so mild a spirit as Mr. CHARNOCK was overmuch, It is but giving our Lieutenant Generall, President, and Councill of FORT ST. GEORGE Information of such crimes. . . ."

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III.

NOTICES OF VARIOUS PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE DIARY OF HEDGES,

FROM INDIA OFFICE RECORDS AND OTHER SOURCES.

ALLEY, Captain. A noted interloper from 1679, or perhaps from 1676, onwards; very persistent, defiant, and obnoxious to the Company.

No private traders, interfering with the Company's privileges of exclusive trade, had appeared in the field for many years after the renewal of the Charter by King Charles II in 1661. They reappeared in the latter part of next decade, and Alley was the most prominent in this renewal of "interloping" adventure. Alley's project was to load a ship at Cadiz with European wares, and to bring back Eastern produce for sale in continental markets.[1]

I give some extracts regarding this adventurer, but I have not come upon notices of him of later date than those in Hedges. He is more than once spoken of by the Court as "the late interloper Alley", which at first I took as indicating his death; but as the phrase occurs once in a letter quoted under BRIDGER (below), which is dated 1681, when we know that Alley was alive and active, this can only mean "the interloper who lately went out to India".

Three voyages of Alley's are traced in the passages which we have observed, viz., in 1675-6; in 1679-80; and in 1682-3.

The notice of the first voyage is very brief and vague; perhaps it was a "prospecting" expedition only:

"We note the arrivall of Capt. ALLY, and how you accommodated the Moor servants . . . . and their taking passage in the Companies shipping for the BAY." (*Court to* FORT ST. GEORGE, 15th Dec. 1676.)

From Court's Letter to SURAT, 19th March 1679-80.

"67. We are informed that some Persons have designed to venture on Private trade to the INDIES, and that one Capt. ALLY in the Ship *Expectation* voyaged thither about Decembr. last, purposeing to go to the Coast of CHOROMANDELL or ye BAY. Wee thereupon have endeavoured to prevent their unjust practice and procedure, contrary to his Majesties Charter given us, and upon Application his

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[1] *Bruce*, ii, 484.

Majesty in Councill was graciously pleased to issue forth his Commission and Instructions to our Agents and Chiefs respectively, requireing not to yield the said Capt. ALLY or any others any Countenance or assistance," etc., etc.

Extract from the King's Letter, dated 2nd December 1679.

"Whereas we are credibly informed that one WILLIAM ALLEY, Commander of an English Ship called the *Expectation*, of the burden of 400 tonns or thereabouts, in confederacy with JOHN SMITH, JAMES HARRINGTON and others of our English Subjects, in contempt of our Royal Charter given and granted to our said EAST INDIA COMPANY in the 13th Year of our Reign, and to defraud us of our Custome, is now designed on a voiage from CADIZ to some Port or Places in the East Indies there to trade India Commodities and to discharge them in foreign Countries of EUROPE: These are therefor to require you and every of you, as you will avoid our just displeasure, and answer the contrary at your perills, that you doe forbear to give any assistance, countenance, or encouragement whatever unto the said WILLIAM ALLEY," etc.

(Addressed to MATTHIAS VINCENT, chief Factor at HUGHLY, CHRISTOPHER HATTON do. at MESULAPATAM, etc.)

Extract of Letter from FORT, 14th June 1683.

"The *New London*, Capt. DANIELL Commanding, arrived togeather with ALLY, the first Instant at PORTONOVO, and we hear also that SMITH another Interlopers (*sic*) is come thether. . . . We have taken care to fix GOPALL PUNDIT, the chiefe Sobadar, to the observance of the *Cowle*[1] that was granted us by Maha Raja, and also by him Self, against all Interlopers, especially ALLEY, whom we most feared because of the *Cowle* they had formerly granted him."

Alley and Smith are mentioned by Hedges at p. 104, and their arrival at Balasore, pp. 116-118. Alley seems always to have made his appearance with pomp, to impress the natives, as when he comes up to Húglí "in his Barge, rowed with English Mariners in Coats with Badges, and 4 Musicians"; and again when he goes, to Hedges' great indignation, to visit the Faujdár of Húglí, in pretentious procession. "A gawdy shew and great noise", quoth the Agent, "adds much to a Public Person's Credit in this Country" (p. 123).

Extract from Court Book, 24th Sept. 1680.

"THE Court being informed that there were two letters come from INDIA by their Shipping directed to Capt. WM. ALLY, who commands the *Expectation*, set out on private account, this question being put, whether they should be now opened? it passed in the affirmative, and Sr. JOSIA CHILD and Major THOMSON were desired to open them, and to make report: And in case that nothing be found therein prejudicial to the Company that then the same be sealed up and delivered as directed.

"RESOLVED that such persons in the Company's Service as are found by the said letters, or otherwise, concerned with the said ALLY in carrying on any private trade, contrary to his Majesties charter granted to the Company, shall be immediately discharged from their employments respectively."

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[1] Ar. *Ḳaul*, a written engagement, or protection.

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Extract from Court Book, 1st March 1681(2).

"It is referred unto the Committees for Shipping to examen what assistance was given unto ALLEY the Interloper at JOHANNA by any of the Company's Ships that lay there with him before the place."

Do., 24th October 1681.

"The Governour and Sr. JOSEPH ASHE are desired to attend the R^t Honble the Lord HYDE with the draught of a proclamation, Commission, &ca., now read in Court for preventing the going out of Interlopers to the EAST INDIES."

Extract from Court's Letter to FORT, 27th October 1682.

"We shall order the *Josiah* and the next ship that goes after him to stay at PORTO NOVO . . . . to countenance our new Factory there, and also to hinder any Interloper from trading there and afrighting the Natives.

"The like order we have given to this ship and shall continue doing so to all others that we send to the Fort, but the two next after this are most like to meet with ALLY at PORTO NOVO and you may do well to stay them both there as long as Our business will admit . . . . and if you can so contrive it Order two Ships to follow ALLY down to METCHLAPATAM, And so dog him continually with 2 or 3 Ships at Sea as you can make it correspond with our business, and with 2 or 3 merchants at hand to buy the Goods from him, whatever he gives.

"And in all Places use these methods we formerly gave you for getting away the Interloping Seamen, and otherwise destroying their voyages by all means within your power."

ANTHONY, SAMUEL. Arrived as Writer in 1675. Mentioned as serving at Balasore, Aug. 1676. 2nd of Council at Malda in 1682-3. Died there 23rd April 1683 (*Diary*, p. 83).

BARKER, RICHARD. Nominated as Factor, 12th Nov. 1680. Being attached to warehouse at Cassimbazar Factory, was accused of dishonest exactions; made by the Court 2nd of Council at the aforesaid factory; but suspicions of his conduct continued to be entertained by Hedges.

BEARD, JOHN. Keeper of the Company's Surat warehouse in London. Nominated to be Factor, 2nd in Council at Húglí, and 3rd in Council of the Bay, 26th Sept. 1681; also to succeed to the Agency of the Bay in case of the death of Mr. Hedges on the voyage out, or within six months after it, but not otherwise (5th Oct. 1681). Was a passenger with Hedges to India on the *Defence*. He was accused by Hedges of keeping up intimacy with the interlopers, and did not act cordially with Hedges. The latter's detention of a letter, which Beard wrote to Sir Josia Child in Jan. 1683, in which Hedges was ill spoken of, was the main cause of the latter's dismissal. Beard succeeded Hedges as Agent in the Bay, after the termination of President Gyffard's visit to Bengal, but in subordination to Madras. In the Húglí Council's letter to Balasore of 6th

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Aug. 1685, it is said: "By reason of the Agent's weak condition he does not signe, which adds greatly to our affliction." This refers to the troubles with the Nabob's government, which were then daily increasing, and amid which Mr. Beard died at Húglí, 28th Aug. 1685. His illness was alleged to be due to these troubles, as his death is one of the injuries for which damages are claimed in the demand presented to the Nabob in December 1686 (p. lix, *supra*).

The Court, on receiving the news of his death, wrote:

"We are extremely sorry for the death of Agent BEARD, a man entirely faithfull to our Interest." (To Fort St. George, 9th June, 1686.)

The following passages from a letter sent by Beard and his colleagues to Balasore, dated 19th Decr. 1684, when Hedges had been dismissed but was still in the country, are meanly calumnious of Hedges, and raise a strong presumption against the character of Beard himself. After referring to the judgment of Rs. 43,000 against the Kásimbázár Factory, which the Nabob had given in favour of the *Picars* (*supra*, p. liii, and *Diary*, pp. 151, 171), as "encouraged thereunto by the late Agent", it is added[1]:

"All the Honble Company's Affaires are soe miserably intreagued by the il management of Agent HEDGES, for most Corrupt and abominable ends an designes, that we dont yett see any possibility to retreive them. God graunt bettr times."

BEARD, JOHN, junior. Son of the preceding. Nominated Writer 5th October 1681, and apparently accompanied his father to India on board the *Defence*, with Mr. Hedges. On his father's death the Court recommend the Húglí Council to appoint him to one of the Councils in Bengal. He appears as one of the Bengal Council at the time of their expulsion and sojourn at Madras, in 1689-90; and after their return to Bengal signs as one of the Council at Chatánatí (*e.g.*, Oct. 1693). On the first return home of Mr. Eyre in 1699, Mr. Beard succeeded to the Agency in Bengal, and at this time he had to deal with the trouble caused by Sir Edward Littleton's arrival and high pretensions as President for the New Company, in which Mr. Beard acted with much spirit and propriety. Under EYRE, it is stated how Mr. Eyre, having been knighted, was recommissioned by the Court with the advanced dignity of President. The Court, after announcing this, wrote:

"And we must assure Mr. Beard that we have had great Consideration in making this Constitution that it may not in any way lessen the good opidion we have of him or tend in the least to his discouragement. And we say further, That no other Occasion than Sr CHARLES EYRES desiring to return to the Bay of Bengall in our Service could, or hereafter Shall prevail with us to send any Person above our good and faithfull Servant Mr. BEARD . . . . . and that

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[1] O.C. 5287.

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No. 3. John Nicks Secret[y].

No. 4. Sr. Your most assured friend and servant.

No. 5. Richard Mohun

Transcribed and

No. 6. Examined by me John Thomas

Yr very humble servant to Command
John Naylor

No. 7. Wm Jearsey

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S, CHARLES EYRES return to Bengall again may not prove to Mr. BEARD's prejudice We have resolved to continue his present salary of two hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds Gratuity per annum . . . . ."[1]

I have noticed under EYRE what I have been able to trace as to the actual resumption of the reins at Calcutta by that gentleman. Mr. Beard succeeded very speedily, apparently in January 1700-1, to the Old Company's Presidency; and he seems to have behaved with spirit and intelligence in the transaction of business involved in the union of the Companies, when there were two Presidents in the field.

Mr. Beard's consent to remain under the somewhat depressing circumstance of his supercession by Sir Charles Eyre, obtained the commendation of the Court, in a letter to Bengal, dated 29th Nov. 1700:

"We can't begin this head better than to take notice of Mr. BEARD's resolutions of continuing some time longer in BENGALL before he designes for ENGLAND, which we kindly resent."

But when Eyre so lightly threw up the trust which had been conferred on him, Mr. BEARD's sense of his own slighted merit found vent in a letter to the Court (which has not been preserved), on which they animadvert with some sharpness:

(*Letter to* BENGAL, *of 5th March* 1701-2):

"We begin this head with taking notice of what you write touching S' CHARLES EYRE, his coming out to the BAY, his unwillingness to appear against the Consul, and his continued hankering to return ffor ENGLAND, which caused him so suddenly to leave you and come home, and the Reflexions Mr. BEARD makes thereupon, and of his Succession to the Presidency, to which we shall say but little, some part not needing, and the rest not deserving an Answer. True it is We have been always desireous to Encourage Our Servants to increase in virtue, and therefore have commended it to them, of which our Now President has been no small Instance even in his Juvenile Years, but he seems in these Letters to want a little ballast of Sober thought and deliberation, or at least wanted time to have read them over twice."

In February 1702 the Mahommedan Government seized the effects of the Company at Rajmahl and Patna, as well as the persons of the Company's servants, on plea of damage done by the European pirates, who had been frequenting the Indian seas; and in the following month the Faujdár of Húglí issued an order to seize the Company's effects at Calcutta. President Beard took measures for defensive action, and deterred the Faujdár from further proceedings. In 1702-3 both Presidents were ordered to devote themselves to making up the separate accounts of the two Companies at Calcutta, whilst the Council was to

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[1] *Court to Bengal*, 20th Dec. 1699. See under EYRE, a preceding passage, from the same letter.

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be presided over by Mr. Halsey of the Old Company, and Mr. Hedges of the New, in alternate weeks. Of this, Governor Pitt writes[1]:

"In BENGALL all things are pretty quiet, only jangling in the rotation Government; all talkers and no hearers."

And two months later, to the Secretary at the East India House:

"For the rotation Government in BENGALL 'tis become the ridicule of all India, both Europeans and native." (To JOHN STYLEMAN, Dec. 7, 1704.)

Mr. Beard's arrival at Madras is mentioned by Governor Pitt in a letter to Thos. Coulson, Esq., dated February 2nd, 1704-5:

"President BEARD came hither on the *Chambers* ffrigat for a recovery of his health, who has been telling me of the unkindness of the Company in refusing their bills of Exchange, which was drawn by their order and approbation, and he believing that I have some interest with you, who have an Influence upon the Company, has requested my writeing in his behalfe, which I most earnestly doe. . . . ."

Later in the year Pitt writes, in a letter to Sir George Matthews, dated Fort St. George, September 8th, 1705:

"P.S. Mr. BEARDE came hither with his ffamily on the *Chambers* ffrigg^{tt} and died the 7th of July last."

The following extract speaks of the menaces of the Native Government in 1702:

(From Letter of President JOHN BEARD *and Council to the* LONDON *Company, of* 15*th August* 1702[2]) :

". . . . We received a letter from Mr. GEORGE REDSHAW &ca. at PATTANA, dated the 27th day of February, adviseing their being seized upon, and all the Companys Effects, by the Government there, by virtue of an *Husbool Hookum* from the King, to make Sattisfaction for the Piracy commited at Sea by the Hatmen, which was a great disappointment to the business of the place, for a little time before Mr. REDSHAW had received a *Seerpaw*[3] and horse from the Nabob, and taken out Phirwannas for trade, more substantiall then ever wee had received before, Having notice of this Mr. BUGDEN &ca. at RAJAHMAULE prudently paid what money they received out of the Mint into a Shroffs hand, and gott a bill of Exchange payable to us here, so that there was but Eighteen hundred Rupees left in the mint, but not makeing an early escape themselves were carried into the *Cacherra* or publick Goal, and suffer'd abundance of hardship fifty-one days untill we procured the Prince and Duan's order to let them return unto the Factory where they now remain prisoners at Large. The new Companys people had sixty two thousand *Siccas* siez'd upon."

(Then after detailing similar proceedings at KÁSIMBÁZÁR):

"We found the design was to get money from us, but we resolved to part with

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22,848, No. 70.

[2] O.C. 7996.

[3] *Sar-o-pá*, "Cap-à-pied"; a dress of honour.

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nothing, choosing rather to spend your Honours money in pouder and Shott, then to be always giving to evry little Rascall who thought he could do us injury."

(Then after telling how the DUTCH had paid exactions without getting any benefit):

"We wrote him (their '*Vacqueel* at Dhacca') word we would not be at a Cowreys Charge, but put our selves in a good posture of defence, mounted severall Gunns round the Garrison, Entertained Eight or ten Europe men more in the Gunners Crew, made up the Company of Souldiers, one hundred and twenty men, and resolved to make a Stout resistance. The Government hearing of our preparations made no attempt upon the place . . . ."

The following epitaph on a son of this Mr. Beard is one of those in the churchyard of St. John's, in Calcutta:

"Here Lyeth the Body of CHARLES BEARD, Esq., who departed this Life the 30th December Anno 1747, aged 49 years. He was the Son of JOHN BEARD, Esq., Formerly President of this Place."

BRADDYLL, ROGER. Appointed, as a factor, 8th Sept. 1682. Mentioned as attached to Húglí at pp. 163, 170, of *Diary*. Chief at Patna 1686, and in considerable jeopardy there, with his colleagues, on the news of the outbreak at Húglí (*supra*, p. lxiv).

There is in the records[1] a pitiful letter to Charnock and Council, dated "Pattana, 25th June 1690", from one Charles King, imprisoned by the Mahommedan authorities at Patna. We learn from Sir John Goldsborough's report, already quoted (pp. xci-iii, *supra*), that

"The Nabob (of Pattana) still (October 1693) holds CHARLES KING in prison . . . . and insists upon 1,500 *rups*. for his freedom. This KING was a Serjeant run from his Colours in the wars here; and went to Pattana, where the Nabob held Mr. BRADDYLL. Uppon KING's being there, BRADDYLL got him to personate Chief in his roome to the Nabob, and soe gott away himselfe. Uppon this the Nabob imprisoned KING, and demands Money . . . . and when Agent CHARNOCK came hither from Madras they allowed 20, and since 25 *rups*. per month, to maintain him and keep him from turning Moor."[2]

We have, in a partial record of the Chatánatí correspondence, a further letter from Charles King to Job Charnock and his Council, dated "PATTANA, 18. 8ber. 1690", of which this is an extract:

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[1] RR. c. vol. 2.

[2] O.C. 5900. On this the Court speak their minds, in a letter to Bengal of 6th March 1694-5: "It was an insolent ffoolery in your Predecessors to pay so much as you did, or any money at all, for CHARLES KING at PATTANA, a fellow that the Commissary writes us was Serjeant, and run away from you. And we must desire you for the future to forbear being bountifull out of our Purse; ffor we do not intrust you with our Charity, Neither is it Charity to give away that which is none of your own, Or for which you have no Warranty from the right Owners."

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". . . . If I have not money to give the Cuttwall and the Keepers of the Prison and the Guards that guard mee, they abuse mee most grossly. If you doe not take some care to relieve me with Speed I shall be forc't to turne MOORE, for I am not able to endure the Hardship much longer . . . . The DUTCH have been very kind to me in the time of my Sickness. Mr. GOLD APLE the Rd.[1] (?) of the DUTCH factory lent me 200 *Rs.* before I was taken Prisoner; he sent 3 or 4 times for the moneys since he heard of your Worshipps arrivall."

* * * * * * *

"For the lord Jesus Christs Sake let me not perish in this hellish prison."

* * * * * * *

We are glad to know that this poor fellow, though lo ng left, was not finally left by his Christian countrymen to perish. A letter from Charles Eyre and his Council, dated "CHUTTANUTTE 15 Jany. 1694-5,"[2] says:

"Since the death of BUZURGH OMED CAN, Nabob of PATTANA Wee have received advices of Mr. KINGS releasement from a long and tedious imprisonment, which was purchased by the Charity of Several good minded persons who made a Gathering for him to the amount of *Rups.* 800, which was given the duan of PATTANA."

Braddyll was at Dacca with Mr. Eyre during the whole of the Charnock troubles and exodus, and they continued there on the resumption of peaceful relations in 1690, when they wrote "advising of the new Nabob's great courtesy to them, and passionate desire for our return and settlement."[3]

Braddyll we find afterwards to have been attached to Fort St. George, and to have had a seat in Council there, but he came under the censure of the Court, as appears from the following passage in a letter to the Fort of Nov. 21, 1699. Whether he was then actually dismissed I have not ascertained:

"When we sent out the Commission by our New President" (T. Pitt) "we put in all the Names of our then Councill, not knowing of any particular objection against them further then mentioned in our Instructions, however left it to his Discretion to suspend any persons he found deserving it; but we find so much in the Consultations relating to Mr. BRADDYLL that Strikes at the ffoundation of our Authority, as deserves a Severe Reflexion, and therefore leave it to you to act thereon as you shall see expedient, by a temporary or totall Suspension, or otherwise, to deter others from the like evill practise."

About the same date Governor Pitt wrote, in a letter to W. Fraser, Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David (dated Fort St. George, Nov. 28th, 1699):[4]

". . . . You know 'twas by your Advice that I tooke Mr. BRADDYLL into

[1] Perhaps for *Raad*, "Councillor".

[2] O.C. 5959.

[3] Letter from Fort St. George to Court, Feb. 1, 1689-90 (O.C. 5698).

[4] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22,842.

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Councill, who proves the most troublesomest man beyond expression[1] . . . . and puzles the Merchants in such a Manner with his Conundrums that he has made them halfe mad . . . ."

Braddyll must have gone home before 1704. In Feb. 1704-5 Governor Pitt writes to Robert Raworth, in a letter quoted under CATCHPOOLE:

"I hear your settling there" (at Pulo-Condore) "was GOFF's project, who I hear is my enemy, but for what Reason I hnow not, unless it be by the instigation of one BRADDYLL that went home. . . ."

And, earlier, to Elihu Yale, (Feby. 1703-4):

"This years Letters brings us the News which is spread up and down Town" (*i.e.*, MADRAS) "that Mr. BRADDYLL was offer'd what employ he pleas'd in the United Service, but refused it, having a promise to come out their Commissary Generall the next Shipping . . . ."

And in another letter to Yale, Oct. 6th, 1705:

"R. B. works like a mole underground as he us'd to doe, and you are not unacquainted with his good qualifications."

Finally, in *Court Book* of 8th March 1716-17 we read:

"JOHN HOPKINS, Esq. made a communication regarding clandestine trade carried on by Mr. ROGER BRADDYLL . . . that in particular, on or about Dec. 1711, Mr. ROGER BRADDYLL directed Mr. HALES to provide for him 40 bars of Silver of about 2000*l*. value in the whole, and 8 bags of ENGLISH Crowns and half Crowns, and to pack the same in 3 chests . . . . That 2 of the said Chests were sent by a DOVER Wagon, and the third by the CANTERBURY coach . . . . That they were afterwards put in sacks of Corn and so shipt off from DEAL . . . ."

BRAY, LEONARD. Nominated Writer 5th October 1681; attached to Balasore Factory (*Diary*, p. 93), and afterwards in the Council there. Report of his death acknowledged by Húglí Council, 25th August 1685 (O.C. No. 5405).

BRIDGER, JOHN. Came out in 1668 as member of Council at the Fort; in 1676, 5th of Council there; in 1679, 3rd; May 1680, 2nd. Dismissed for trafficking with interlopers in 1681 (see following extracts). Still at Madras in 1685 (see *Diary*, p. 183).

From Court's Letter to FORT, 18th Nov. 1681:

"2. We have seldome observed such peremptorines in servants, but at length we find it accompanied with infidelity, as lately in Mr. JOHN BRIDGER, whom we have discovered to hold correspondence with the late Interloper ALLEY, and also to send over great quantities of Diamonds, Pearles &c. in the Ship *Sampson*, unregistered, contrary not only to his trust, but to the oath he tooke of a

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[1] And *grammar*, the Governor might have added!

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ffreeman, before his going to India" (books and papers to be seized, and himself to be sent home, etc.).

* * * * * * *

"The unworthy Slight offered to his Majesties and Councels Order touching the Interloper ALLEY by the last Agent and Councell, and all others that neglected their duty therein, is so unpardonable an offence that as we have dismissed Mr. BRIDGER and Mr. VINCENT on that accompt, and many others, soe we are resolved no man shall abide in our Service that was directly or indirectly guilty of any connivance therein, To which purpose we desire you by Secret informations upon the Oaths of credible persons, and by all other means, to gaine what evidence you can touching that affair (without formall mimick pedantique trialls)," etc.

BYAM, JOHN. Nominated Writer 13th Oct. 1670. Chief of Factory at Balasore on the arrival of Mr. Hedges. Ordered by the Court to be dismissed, 18th Nov. 1681. But he was readmitted by the Council of the Bay, as appears by the Court's letter quoted below; and Mr. Byam remained Chief of Balasore till his death, which occurred early in July 1683 (see *Diary*, p. 97, and O.C., No. 4952).

"By Our former Order for sending home Mr. PEACOCK &c., Assistants to Mr. VINCENT and the Interlopers, Wee do not mean Mr. BYAM, readmitted by you to the Chiefship of BALLASOOR, but do confirm what you have done therein, and all things of that kind that you did before the coming away of the *Society*." (*To Bengall*, 5 Sept. 1683.)

About September 1682, Mr. Bromley, 3rd of Council at Balasore, brings charges against Mr. Byam that he never allows his Council to take any part in business; he writes out the "Consultations", and makes the bargains with the native merchants, and then calls in his Council to sign under pressure (O.C. 4842).

CATCHPOOLE, ALLEN. Arrived as Writer in 1673; Factor, 1678. Was with Charnock at Patna Factory in 1677; attached to Kásimbázár Factory in 1682-83. Charnock appears to have requested Hedges to turn him out, and the refusal of the latter is assigned as one of the reasons of Charnock's hostility to the Agent (p. 102). He was removed by Hedges to Húglí, but his position there does not appear.

The Court, as usual strongly on Charnock's side, say (Nov. 16, 1682):

"We can have no good thoughts of Mr. THREADER and Mr CATCHPOLE at CASSUMBAZAR, in regard of their obstinate carriage to Mr. CHARNOCK at his first coming to CASSUMBAZAR; for if they had been right men themselves they would not but have known that Mr. CHARNOCK was an honest just man."

Again, in letter to Bengal of 21st December 1683, after finding fault with some proceedings of Catchpoole's, they say:

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"Wee finde likewise, by his scandall of Mr. CHARNOCK, whom we will yet believe to be a good man, till better Evidence than any Wee have yet had, shall appeare to the contrary, that Mr. CATCHPOLE is a very ill man, and therefore Wee doe hereby totally dismiss him Our service."

Some of Mr. Catchpoole's "scandall of Mr. Charnock" occurs at p. 87 of the *Diary*.

I presume he was dismissed accordingly; and the next time my extracts mention him it is in the character of an Interloper in the Bay, coupled with Capt. Thomas Pitt.

In 1693, Mr. Eyres writes as follows to Sir John Goldsborough, on visitation at Chuttanutty, dated "Dhacca, 21 Oct. 1693":

"I observe what your Excy. writes as to THO. PITT and ALLEYN CETCH POLES being arrived in Bengall. . . I shall use my best Endeavour to frustrate their designs, and to get them turn'd out of the Countrey. . . If your Excy. thinks convenient I will acquaint the Nabob and Duan that these Strangers that Steale out of their owne Countrey in this nature are Generally those people that rob and plunder on the Seas, and onder pretence of being Merchants and comeing to trade, doe abundance of Mischeif to the King and his Subjects, and that 'tis more then probable this Ship may be one of those. This will soe surprise the Nabob and Duan that tis thought they will order their persons and effects to be seiz'd. Your Excy may rest assured of my best endeavours in this affair."[1]

Another appearance of Catchpoole as an Interloper is noticed in the following "*Copy of a Clause taken out of* Mr. BEARD'S *Letter to the General*, No. 72, *Recd. 29th July*, 98, *Pr.* Charles the Second"[2]:

"The *Rebecca*, an Interlopeing Ship, is arrived from BATAVIA, which Ship Went to the West Coast for Round Pepper and is under the Direction of Mr. CATCHPOLE (and) Mr. PETTY. Mr. CATCHPOLE is returned from ZUBBERDUST CAWNE, haveing presented him to the amount of 5000 *Rups.* and have gained onely a Perwanna that the Old and New English Should agree. Mr. CATCHPOLE is now on his way to (*blank in MS.*) designing to address himselfe to the Nabob. The Government is very Averitious and will receive money of both partys, and doe the Interlopers Business at last as hitherto Wee find they have done. Wherefore I proposed to the Agent to offer the Nabob 20 000 *Rups.* to turne them out of the Countrey or to detaine them within HUGHLEY River, which bate and Debate I hope will hinder the Interlopers proceeding for ENGLAND the Monsoon, and I hope Mr. CLYVES not Sayling till the 12th of March will give the Rt Honoble Company an oppertunity to dispose of both the *Russell* and *ffleet* friggatts Cargoes before the Interlopers Can arrive ENGLAND."

Like sundry other dismissed servants of the Company, after some interloping adventure, Catchpoole found service under the New or English Company, and in 1699 was commissioned as President of their factories in China. On the enforced withdrawal from Chusan in 1701-2, Catchpoole and his colleagues retired to Batavia. He had applied for the sanction of the Court to a scheme for the establishment of a factory on

[1] O.C. 5881, No. 37.

[2] O.C. 6538.

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Pulo Condore, off the Cochin-China coast, the SONDUR and CONDUR group of Marco Polo. Quitting Batavia 16th June 1702, he visited the island in question, leaving there several officers and others, with Macassar soldiers and slaves, to make a settlement[1]; and after another and fruitless visit to Chusan he did settle on the island. It was his idea that it would become a station for China trade (a sort of Hongkong in conception), from which ships might be despatched to the different ports of China, since it seemed then hopeless to form any establishment on actual Chinese soil. In March 1706 the Court gave up the Chinese trade as impracticable, and ordered Pulo Condore also to be abandoned. But a year earlier (March 2nd, 1705) Catchpoole and nearly all the English on the island had been massacred by their Macassar garrison.[2]

The shrewd Governor Pitt had highly approved of the Pulo Condore settlement. In a letter to Robert Raworth of the India House, February 3rd, 1704-5, he says:

"I am sorry to hear that you have ordered the raising of POLLICONDORE, which I take to be the best designe, if well manag'd, that the ENGLISH haue undertaken in these parts for many years, for certainly 'tis incomparably well scituated for the Emporyum of trade in those parts, and I am sure in a little time I could have brought the MANILHA trade in good part thither, for here was an ARMENIAN that would have agreed with me for a thousand bales of goods to be delivered there, where he would have paid me for 'em in peices of eight, the properest commoditie for China."

CHILD, Sir JOSIA. The facts of his life are to be found in the biographical dictionaries, and as to them we need here only say that he was born in 1630, was made a baronet in 1678, and died in 1699.[3] But, I would observe that his influence in the direction of the East India Company's affairs was for many years apparently greater than that of any other individual. He was first chosen one of the 24 "Committees"

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[1] O.C. 7999.

[2] *Bruce*, iii, 606-7; and *A. Hamilton*, ii, ch. xlviii.

[3] The Court write to "the Generall" (*i.e.*, Sir John Gayer), under date 28th July 1699: "Our Good Generall . . . . Although you may have by Sr Josia Child's death, who departed this Life in June last, lost a very good ffriend, yet be assured our Esteem for you is no wayes lessened thereby, having intire Confidence in your good Management, it being as much for our Interest, to have honest able Men in our Service, as it can be for you to serve us . . . ."

The last document I have found signed by Sir Josia as a Member of Court, is dated 5th June 1699. Sir Josia's second son Sir Richard Child, was in 1718 raised to the Irish peerage as Viscount Castlemaine (a tarnished title to select!), and in 1731 was made (in the same peerage) Earl Tylney. This title became extinct with his son's death in 1784. Catherine Tylney Long, a descendant of the first Earl Tylney's daughter, Lady Long, married, and carried the fortune

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Sr. Josiah Child.

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in April 1674, and he continued to be so annually till his death, except in the year 1676, owing to the circumstances detailed in extracts given below.[1] He was chosen Governor of the Company in 1681, 1682, and 1686, and Deputy-Governor in 1684, 1685. From the time when the Court books record the members of the separate Committees (in the modern sense),—the foundation of the system of business as still conducted in the India Office,—the name of Sir Josia Child appears on the "Committee for Letters". And there can be little doubt that he was for many years predominant in the dictation of the more important part of the Company's correspondence with the settlements in

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of the Childs to, William-Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley, afterwards 4th Earl of Mornington:

("Bless every man possess'd of aught to give;
Long may Long Tylney Wellesley Long Pole live!"
Rejected Addresses).

There was, I believe, no connection of the venerable "Child's Bank" in Fleet Street with Sir Josia or his family.

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[1] "*A General Court of the Adventurers holden the* 18*th April* 1676,
Present Sr. NATHANIEL HERNE, Governor,

* * * * *

"*With others of the Committees and very many of the Generality.*

"THE Governor acquainted the Generality, That the end of summoning this Court was to have declared the choice of the Governor and Deputy: But something had fallen out that prevented the same, to wit, that yesterday morning after the Court was set for taking in votes according to the printed papers, and some votes delivered in, the Governor received a letter from S. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, his Majesty's principal Secy. of State, which was now read, and follows, *in hec verba*:

"'Whitehall 17th April 1676.

"'S^r^, His Majesty being informed that endeavours are using to have Mr. CHILD and Mr. PAPILLON chosen Governor and Sub-Governor of the Company for the year ensuing, his Majesty hath commanded me to let you know They are persons that have behaved them selves very ill towards his Majesty, and that therefore his Majesty should take it very ill of the Company if They should chuse them; which I am commanded to signify unto you to be forthwith communicated to the Company as by his Majestys orders. I am with much esteem and truth

"'Sr Your most humble and faithful Servant

"'J. WILLIAMSON.

"'For Sr NATH: HERNE, Govr, of the East India Company.'

"That upon receipt of this letter the Governor called a Court of Committees, and upon debate thereof had, It was Resolved, that the Court of Elections should proceed to take in the Adventurers votes, but before they were given in, every person that brought in any votes should reade the said letter or hear it read; and accordingly the same was communicated to all that came, and the Court sate till 7 at night to receive the votes, and then sealed them up, and intended this

India, and that we may ascribe largely to him the pungent style, the severe rebuke, the strong antipathies expressed for some, and strong predilection for others, of the Company's servants, which that correspondence contains, and not less the occasional utterances of long experience in busi-

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morning to have made the scrutiny; but that the last night about Ten a clock the Governor received another letter from Mr. Secy. WILLIAMSON, which was now read, and follows *in hec verba:*

"'Whitehall Monday evening past 9.

"'S^r^, His Majesty commands me to let you know, he would speak with you to-morrow morning before 8 a clock, I am ever

"'Sr. your most humble and faithful servant,

"'For Sr NATH: HERNE, Knt." "'J. WILLIAMSON.'

"And the Governor acquainted the Generality, that in obedience thereunto he attended his Majesty according, and received his Majesty's commands, That he with the Dep^ty^ Governor and all the Committees should attend him this day at one a clock, which being made known to the Court of Committees, it was agreed that all the Committees should meet either at this house about 12, or in the long Gallery at WHITEHALL half an hour after, in order to their attending his Majesty. That waiting on his Majesty he was pleased to express himself much according to the purport of what had been signified in Mr. Secretaries letter; and recommended it to the Company that they would not chuse Mr. CHILD or Mr. PAPILLON, either as Governor, Deputie, or Committees. That his Majesty had received kindness from this Company, and as he alwaies had been, so he would continue his kindness and favour to the Company; and so expected they would not disoblige him to chuse those that had dealt ill with him; Which being what had passed in this affair the Court of Committees desire the Generality will declare what they think fit to direct touching the Scrutiny . . . . And the question being put by the ballat, Whether the opinion of Councel should be taken in this case, it passed in the negative. And the Court was adjourned till Friday morning next, to consider whether a scrutiny shalbe taken, or that they will go to a new election."

On the next meeting of the General Court of Adventurers, 21st April, another letter of that date was read from Sir Joseph Williamson, which, after some recapitulation about the first letter, goes on:

"And his Majesty having since understood that that letter came too late, the votes having been already delivered in, And that nevertheless the Company have endeavoured as much as in them lay to pay all submission and obedience to his Majesty's intimation in that matter; but that they find themselves in great difficulties by reason of that incident, His Majesty in the tender care he is pleased to have for the privileges of the Company, which his meaning was not in the least to infringe (as he was pleased himself to declare to you and the Committees upon this occasion) and which he will from time to time preserve and protect, is graciously pleased, and accordingly his Majesty commands me in his name, to signify to you that you doe proceed in the election and scrutiny now depending, in your usual form, according to the charter, which his Majesty's pleasure is you should forthwith communicate as by his order to the General Court."

After it had been unanimously resolved that a Committee should be appointed to wait on his Majesty, etc., the scrutiny was taken, and the elec-

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ness, of large views, and flashes of ambitious prevision, which are to be traced in it during this period. Some samples of these qualities have already been afforded, but I propose here, under the name of Sir Josia, to exhibit others.

It may be observed that whilst Sir Josia Child thus in great degree dominated the Company at home, his brother, Sir John Child, was President of Surat, and for several years "General" of the Company's affairs in India. And though by no means beloved in India, Sir John was always sure of support and commendation in London.

A letter in the I. O. Records, from John Petit to "Mr. Smith", dated Surat, 15th March 168¾, thus speaks of the two brothers :[1]

"As to the Interlopers, I have as true news as they. I know CHILD at home scatters the Guinnys there, as the other CHILD does the rupees here, and both to one purpose at last. I know some Commanders bound out had private intimation not to leave the Kingdome, but that was all, but what will this amount to? The *Crown*[2] arrived at London and sould her goods to great advantage, and noe man durst lay a finger on them, and till they can finde a trick to confiscate all Interlopers goods, they will finde all their other endeavours vanish into wind."[3]

I shall now proceed to give some extracts of the Court's letters, which I suppose to be dictated, or largely influenced, by Sir Josia Child.

"That (letter) of the 26th of January (1677) subscribed by the quondam Agent[4] and Councell, although it be voluminous in words, and haughty, vaine, and unmanerly expressions, such as it becomes not any of you to Subscribe nor us to receive, yet is so empty of Substantiall matter, relating to our business, that wee finde very few particulars in it that need or deserve our answer, other than such as are inoffensively and more pertinently mentioned in the letter and address of the present Agent, where, as we meet with them, you shall have a full answer thereunto.

"But before wee get off this, wee must note to you that it is very Strange and monstrous that severally in your particular Letters to us as private persons you

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tion fell upon Sir WILLIAM THOMSON as Governor and Sir JAMES EDWARDS as Deputy Governor. On the 24th, at the Court of Committees, the gentlemen who had that day waited on his Majesty, represented by Lord Berkeley, made their statement of what had passed, the essence of which is that his Majesty was well pleased with the choice made. On the 27th the Adventurers met again to choose the 24 Committees. Among these Mr. JOSIA CHILD and Mr. PAPILLON are not to be seen. But both were chosen among the 24 in the following year (27th April 1677). And thenceforward Child always till his death. I have not been able to trace the offence given by Child to the King, or how it was effaced, so that two years later he was made a baronet.

[1] Mr. Petit had been 2nd of Council at Surat, but had been dismissed, and had a disastrous history, which is to be found, but perhaps not altogether to be trusted, in Alex. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, ch. xvii.

[2] The *Crown* was Dorril and Pitt's ship (see *Diary*, pp. 20, 31).

[3] O.C., No. 5111.

[4] Sir W. Langhorne.

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Should write with so much deference and Obsequiousness as wee neither desire nor expect, and yet to the Court in Generall should address yourself in such an affronting and unmerchantable Stile, as becomes not any man of breeding to write to his equall. Wee shall conclude this paragraph with telling you that no man living in our Service, whatever he be, shall write to us such kinde of language again with Impunity." (*To Fort St. George*, **3rd Jan. 167$\frac{8}{9}$.)**

The following passage, explaining the Court's refusal to send certain additional books for the library of the Húglí factory, which the Chaplain had requested, refers to books previously sent:

"These wee have well studied, and what may be delivered from them to our People there will be divinity enough for them. Sincerity and practice is the true life of a Christian; and if he preach and they practise, what they both know or may knowe by the helps wee have sent them, wee should have nò cause to blame or lament the abominable evill conversation wee hear some of them are guiltie of." (*To the Bay*, **3rd Dec. 1679.)**

"Long experience with variety of Persons and humours hath convinced us of these following Truths:

"1st. That long, tedious, and cross examinations in INDIA, with bundells of attestations, accusations, defences, apologies, certificates, and such other like Trumpery (of which We have had Loads in our Time) do signify just nothing, but chime as many changes as the best Ringers in LONDON can do with seaven Bells, and that the worst of men will contrive their business so as to furnish themselves with the Largest Fardle of such sophisticated Ware.

"2dly. That without such a Bustle, a wise Agent and Councill may easily, after a few admonitions, descern which Factory doth well, and which not, and may shrewdly guess whether it be depraved by the malignant influence of the Chief, or whether the Chief be good and those under him idle or obstinate, which seldom happens.

"3dly. That great abuses, unfaithfulnes, or neglect can hardly hold long in any Factory where the Chief is tollerable, nor be ever possibly cured till at Least the Chief be changed.

"4thly. That in a Factory totally corrupt and depraved, as METCHLAPATAM was many Years, the change of the Chief may make a partial, but can never make a thorough Cure, without displacing the Chief and every person of the Councill.

"5thly. That a Person once habituated to and contaminated with Infidelity, sloth, or Luxury, will never mend to that degree as is fit for us to trust him again.

"These Results of Experience We note to you, as marks to Stear by in the conduct of those great affairs we have committed so intirely to your Care and management; and great they are indeed. For that Courage and Spirit which the Interlopers have raised in us have put us to vye not only with them, but with all others that are Competitors with Us for the Trade of the EAST INDIES; And without vanity we may say that we agonize, strive, and Labour, not so much for ourselves as our Country and Posterity, well knowing (whatever weak or malicious men think or say) that the value of the Land of ENGLAND, our Common Mother, depends as much upon the carrying on the Trade of INDIA, and that on this very Company and this Joint stock now established, as upon any external accident or cause whatsomever; which God Almighty hath enabled us to make plaine and evident to his Majesty and his most hon^{ble} Privy Council; and Wee doubt not but the same good Providence that hath so wonderfully blest this

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Kingdom and this Company, and which usually attends all good actions and intentions, will enable us to make out this truth as clear to the Parliament, both Lords and Commons, whenever this affair shall fall under a National Consideration.

"Our Aims are sincere and good, and publique, and we endeavor to proceed with exact truth and justice as well as Courage. And where the end is good and the means good, it pleases God for the most part to give a blessing; and therefore while we Keep to Our Integrity and publique spiritedness, as God Almighty hath blessed us already, so we have full confidence that he will yet bless us, and prosper our affairs to the astonishment of all such as ignorantly or maliciously wish us ill." (*To Fort St. George*, 20th Sept. 1682.)

"We have information, which We have too much reason to believe, that there are many persons in our service which are loose, ignorant, idle, and debaucht, none of which qualities we will indure in any, and therefore have sent You the greater supplies, that rooting out such weeds you (may) set better Plants in their Roome." (*To Bay of Bengal*, 20th Sept. 1682.)

"It is our Ambition for the honor of Our King and Country and the good of Posterity, as well as of this Company, to make the ENGLISH Nation as formidable as the DUTCH or any other EUROPE Nation, are or ever were in INDIA; but that cannot be done, only by the form and with the methods of trading Merchants, without the politicall skill of making all fortifyed places repay their full charge and expences." (*Court to Fort St. George, overland*, 26th Aug. 1685.)

"Our negative List, vizt. of what we would not have sent us, is altogether of as much consequence to us as that of what we would have sent us, and in some respects more, for the former is our categoricall command. And tho' old Mr. GYFFORD had the confidence these last two or three years to neglect it, which we have born with in regard to his former better services, We will never forgive our now better-advised President, if ever we find him guilty of such wilfull violation of our orders, which any man that pretends to common honesty, or the science of a Merchant, would never offer an excuse for . . . ." (*To Fort St, George*, 12th Aug. 1687.)

"You are very ready and frequent in reprehending our conduct, and if you could advise us to mend it, we should be willing to hear you, or any other well minded person, it being our own interest to manage all things for the Company's most advantage, as well as for the honour and interest of our Sovereign, and our native Country. But your exceptions to our Conduct are so very impertinent and cilly, that we wonder the lower end of your Councill are not ashamed to sett their hands to such slight arguments." (*To Fort St. George*, 28th Sept. 1687.)

The following is a remarkable passage:

"That which we promise ourselves in a most especiall manner from our new President and Council is *that they will establish such a Politie of civill and military power, and create and secure Such a large Revenue to maintaine both at that place, as may bee the foundation of a large, well grounded, sure* ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA FOR ALL TIME TO COME." (*To Fort St. George*, 12th Dec. 1687.)

This also:

"We send you herewith this . . . . . the DUTCH relation of their conquest of MACCASSAR, that you may observe with how few forces of their own, with the

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help of BUGGESSES,[1] they accomplished that great exploit, and learn from them how to serve your Countrey by the aid of the Natives." (*To Fort St. George,* 22nd Jan. 169$\frac{7}{8}$.)

"The 14th June 1686 you gave 20 Pagodas to an ITALIAN Padre out of the Company's money, which was an injurious presumption, and more then the Governour and all the Committees will presume to do. Charity is a commendable Vertue when we give that which is our own, but when we give that which is none of our own, it approaches near to robbery. The Adventurers' Stock was intrusted to us to trade with, not to give away to charitable uses . . . . . we have caused the twenty Pagodas aforesaid to be brought to President GYFFORD's accompt, without whose consent that money could not have been paid or misapplied . . . . ." (*Ibid.*)

"God be praised we are not now in such a posture in INDIA that we need to sneak, or put up with palpable injuries from any Nation whatsoever in INDIA; and with God's assistance we hope always to keep ourselves in such a formidable posture of defence, but we would have you do no wrong or violence to any in amity with us. We would not wrong a worm. JUST AND STOUT is the motto we hope to deserve and wear, but in all manner of civil respects we would have you abate nothing that's due to all or any of our friends in INDIA, especially to the FRENCH Nation." (*To Fort St. George,* 27th Aug. 1688.)

After referring to the Revolution at home, which had just then occurred:

"But now we only mention this *in Transitu* for an occasion to tell you that the Interlopers and other Maligners of the Company are very busy, and pretend great matters they will doe shortly by complaints of the Company's management. A lightness and vanity which they have always abounded in, especially upon every change of the Government, or lesser changes of Ministers of State or ffavourites. But their Boastings have alwayes come to nought, and so they will now, all Governments being wiser than to be swayed by such irregular disorderly vain men, tho' they may sometimes seem to (give) them a little countenance for reasons not to be mentioned, as also for the enlargement of their own understandings in so abstruse an affair as that of the East Indies is to Noblemen and gentlemen that have not been conversant in busyness of that nature." (*To Fort St. George,* 15th Feb. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.)

From Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 6th March 1694-5.

(After expressing their willingness to bestow on the Madras Corporation the Post Office and Insurance Office, if they could make an advantage of them):

"Some of us do remember since £3000 a year was paid out of the Exchequer to defray the Postmaster's Charge, and then the Subject paid sixpence for a Letter, for which they now pay but threepence. And yet the Revenue of that Office now brings into the Exchequer at least 70 or £80,000 per annum, which before, as we said, took out of the Exchequer £3000 per annum.

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[1] *Bugis*, or, in old parlance, *Buggesses*, were the dominant race of the island of Celebes. Men of this warlike tribe were often enlisted as native soldiers by the European Powers who had dealings in the Archipelago, and so the word came in that region to mean something like *sepoy*. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

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"You will tell us there is a great Differeuce between EAST INDIA and ENGLAND, which is true; but peradventure upon due Consideration they may find a way to make something of this and carry the Company's Letters cheaper, safer, and speedyer then now they are sent by your *Pattamars*,[1] except the Company pay all the charges of their own and other people's Letters, which is most unconscionable."

The following passage is also ascribed by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *Madras in the Olden Time* (i, 247-8), to Sir Josia. I feel doubtful of this; but the extract is an interesting one, and I transcribe it from the Court's Letter Book:

From Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE *of* 18*th Feby.* 1690-1.

"47. Wee would likewise desire our now President Mr. YALE, whom God hath blessed with so great an estate in our Service, to set on foot another generous charitable work, before he leaves INDIA, that is, the building of a Church for the Protestant black people and PORTUGUEZ and the Slaves which Serve them, who have now no place to hear the word of God preached in a language they understand, and therefore are necessitated to go to the Popish Churches: Whereas if they had Gods word preached to them in the PORTUGUEZ language, according to the Protestant doctrine, and the Prayers of the Church of ENGLAND, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish Chappells: In order hereunto we Shall get our common Prayers, and other offices of our Church translated into the PORTUGUEZ tongue, and send you some written Copies thereof, after which, when your Church is built, and you have corrected the Copyes which we send you to the PORTUGUEZE Dialect of INDIA and returned one Copy to us with the Amendments, We will cause it to be printed here and return you diverse printed copies thereof, and not only so, but we will send you what benevolence we can collect here for the Ornament of the Church intended. In the mean time we are now inquiring after some able Minister that can preach in the PORTUGALL tongue, and also a DOMINE as the Dutch call them, which in the Style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our Prayers in PORTUGUEEZ; These two officers we hope to send you by our Ships that depart next winter; which we fear will be the soonest we can despatch any of our great Ships to you."

The allusion in this passage to the "Portuguese dialect of India" is worthy of notice. And this suggests that it was inspired rather by some member of the Court who had been in India, than by Sir Josia Child, who never was there.

We may add to these quotations, from the official correspondence which we suppose to have been dictated by Sir Josia Child, a notice of certain private correspondence of his with Mr. Vaux, for whom he had obtained the position of Judge at Bombay, as the story is given by Captain ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Sir Josia, according to this writer, had admonished Mr. Vaux on the treatment due to the Company's enemies, and stated "that he expected his orders should be observed and obeyed as statutes":

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[1] Couriers.

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"Mr. *Vaux* gratefully acknowledged Sir *Josiah's* Favours . . . . . . and promised, that . . . . . he would strive to acquit himself with all the Integrity and Justice he was capable of, and that the Laws of his Country should be the Rule he designed to walk by.

"In answer to that Letter Sir *Josiah* seemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. *Vaux*, that he expected his Orders were to be his Rule, and not the Laws of *England*, which were an Heap of Nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant Country Gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make Laws for the good Government of their own private Families, much less for the Regulating of Companies and foreign Commerce.

"I am the more particular in this Account, because I saw and copied both those Letters *in Anno* 1696, while Mr. *Vaux* and I were Prisoners at *Surat*, on Account of Captain Evory's robbing the *Mogul's* great Ship, called the *Gunsway*."[1]

CROSS, CHARLES. Arrived as Writer in 1678. Attached to Dacca Factory in 1682, and the confidential correspondent there of Hedges; his chief, Mr. Pounsett, being of the hostile party. Admitted a Factor by Court's Letter to Bengal, 7th January $168\frac{6}{7}$. I believe he died soon after, but the reference is lost.

CUDWORTH, CHARLES. Nominated as a Factor, 28th June 1682, and apparently son of Ralph Cudworth, the famous philosophical writer. His securities are recorded to have been "Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH and Dr. BENJAMIN WHITCHCOT" (9th August). On the 8th September following I find entered in the Court Book that "Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH was now admitted to the freedom of this Company gratis", the force of which I do not understand. Mr. John Cudworth, perhaps a brother of Dr. Ralph's, was at this time one of the 24 "Committees" of the Company. In Lord King's *Life of Locke* (ed. 1831, ii, 17) there is a letter from Locke to Ch. Cudworth, in which he desires to trouble him with certain inquiries concerning the country he is in ; *e.g.:*

"Some of those who have travelled, and writ of those parts, give us strange stories of the tricks done by some of their jugglers there, which must needs be beyond legerdemain, and seems not within the power of art or nature." (See also under RICHARDS.)

Mr. Cudworth was appointed by the Court 3rd of Council at Kásimbázár, by letter of 15th Nov. 1682. (See p. 97 in *Diary*.)

DAVENANT, NICHOLAS. Nominated a factor in January 168½. 4th of Council at Kásimbázár, September 1683.

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[1] *A. Hamilton*, i, 236. Respecting EVORY, see under Sir JOHN GAYER.

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DAVENPORT, FRANCIS. Húglí River Pilot (see p. 92). Is mentioned in a Parliamentary Paper of January 30, 168$\frac{7}{8}$, called a *True and Impartial Narrative of Capt. Anthony Weltden*, as present at Mergeu (*i.e.*, Mergui), at the time of Capt. Weltden's expedition thither.

"In former times a good number of *English* free Merchants were settled at *Merjee*, and drove a good Trade, being under a mild indulgent Government; but the old *East India* Company envying their Happiness, by an arbitrary Command, ordered them to leave their Industry, and repair to Fort St. *George*, to serve them, and threatening the King of *Siam* with a Sea War, if he did not deliver these English up, or force them out of his Country, and *in Anno* 1687, sent one Captain *Welden*, in a small Ship called the *Curtany*, to *Merjee* with that Message. He behaved himself very insolently to the Government, and killed some *Siamers* without any just Cause. One Night when *Welden* was ashore, the *Siamers* thinking to do themselves Justice on him, got a Company together, designing to seize or kill the Aggressor; but *Welden* having notice of their Design, made his Escape on board his Ship, and the *Siamers* missing him, tho' very narrowly, vented their Rage and Revenge on all the English they could find . . . . . so that seventy-six were massacred and hardly twenty escaped on board the *Curtany*; so there was the tragical Consequence of one Man's Insolence."[1]

DAVIES, THOMAS. Frequently mentioned by Hedges as a prominent Interloper. He is probably the same who was "Merchant for the R^{t} Honble Company" at Húglí in 1658-9, and of whom there are various original letters in the I. O. He writes in a rigmarole style, with quasi-classical allusions, *e.g.* (O.C. 2724):

"*For Mr.* JAMES PYKERING," "HUGHLY, March 17, 165$\frac{8}{9}$.

"And my very good friend,

"Though I suppose you have ere this taken your leave of CASSAMBUZAR, yet I am encouraged to venture this rover at you, out of a Confidence that it will at lenght find you, if not there, in some other place more (like your-Selfe), pleasant, fruitfull, and delightsome. However if you don't meet with it till PLATO's greate yeare, I am sure you Canne be, by that delay, no loser, Since it Carries with it nothing but my poore and unprofitable, though Cordiall Service. S^{r}, your owne disavowing an ability or rather not desiring, to Compliment will I hope allwaies for the future pleade with you an excuse for my DORICK Dialect. Be Confident my want of verball expressions shall allwaies get supplied as any occasion offers it Selfe, by my serious endeavour to testify how much I am

"Yr. reall friend and servant,

"THO: DAVIES."

To which Mr. Pickering replies from CASSNABAZAR (*sic*), March the 23rd (O.C. 2725):

* * * * * * *

"S^{r}, Your DORICK Dialect trancends my Intellect. I beseech you therefore lett your next bee in a language intelligible, for I believe all PATTANA affords not a Lexicon . . . . ."

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[1] *A. Hamilton*, ii, chap. xxxviii.

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Such were among the more innocent diversions of the Company's factors in Bengal in the last years of the Commonwealth.

Davies appears to have been moved to Masulipatam, and from that factory the Court received so bad a report of him that they ordered his discharge:

"There is a great complaint against one DAVIES of that place (METCHLEPATAM), who is rendered to be a very prophane Person, and one that debauches our People, and against severall of our Writers . . . . . Wee doe order that if any Persons in our Service and Subordinate ffactories, doe not behave themselves as they ought to doe according to our Rules, that upon due proof thereof, they being heard in their own defence, that they be sent to the FORT, and if they will not be reclaimed and behave themselves better, that they be sent for ENGLAND."

And again in a later paragraph of the same letter:

"By the Accompt Mr. PUCKLE gives of THOMAS DAVIES he is rendred so bad that wee cannot think him fitt to be continued at all where wee have any concern, and therefore doe order that if he be not reformed, you send him home for ENGLAND, or at least send him to the FORT to make further tryall of his behaviour." (*Court to Fort*, 15th Dec. 1676.)

No doubt, on his discharge, he stayed in India, and took to private trade. From occasional mention of him in years subsequent to the Hedges Diary, he seems to have betaken himself to the Native Courts, and, in desire for revenge, to have tried to stir up mischief against the Company. Then he seems to have fallen into the hands of Job Charnock, who sent him a prisoner to Fort St. George, as appears from these extracts:

"In regard the Agent and Councell in BENGALL have sent THOMAS DAVIS the Interloper, as a Prisoner upon the *Josia* (which we still disapprove of) without any Proof of what Debts he has contracted with the MOORS during his residence in the BAY, we have had divers debates what to do with him, in this case, whether to detain him a Prisoner here, send him to ENGLAND, or back to the BAY, which hath appeared very difficult for us to determine by reason of Some inconveniencys on all hands . . . . We conclude itt best, not to grant him passage on any of our Shipps till we can have certaine advices from the BAY . . . . but if he can find security for his appearance, when wee shall require itt, he may have the priviledge of going where he pleases in the Town, and that wee shall write to the Bay for better information concerning him." (*Consultation*, FORT ST. GEORGE, 3d *Feby*. 1686-7; in I. O.)

"THOMAS LEY of Councill for affairs of the Rt: Honble: Company in the BAY OF BENGALL, now here present, reports that THOMAS DAVIS, Inhabitant there Some time in August or the beginning of September last, was seized by Some order of the Agent and Councill at HUGLEY, or Some of them, to which order for more certainty he refers.

"And that the MOORS Governour did thereupon Send to the Agent demanding that the Said DAVIS should be delivered to him, insisting that the Said DAVIS was a Debtor to Severall of the Country Merchants, who has made Complaint

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that their Debtor was carried away by the ENGLISH, without any Satisfaction made them, as he alledges in divers messages, that passed on that occasion.

" FORT ST. GEORGE, *7th Feby* 168$\frac{6}{7}$. " THO: LEY."

(Appended to the above Consultation.)

DODD, JOSEPH. Nominated factor by the Court, 14th Sept. 1681, Was allowed in going out to ship 2,000 pieces of Eight (7th October); was associated with Mr. Hedges in the latter's Commission, as 6th of Council at Húglí, and was apparently a passenger to India with Hedges on the *Defence*. (See letter, *Diary*, p. 30.)

Mr. Dodd died as a member of the Patna Council, 6th May 1686, as appears in a Húglí letter of 25th *idem* (O.C., No. 5495).

After his death the Patna Council write to Surat, under date 16th November 1686:

" . . . . Mr. DODD has squandered about in trade upwards of Rups. 18 000 of the Rt Honble Company's, besides runne him Selfe in debt to the Countrey people about 2 500 rupt more then his goods then in the house would sattisfy . . . . (MEVERELL also in debt to the Country people, and the Company indebted—to him apparently—about Rs. 5,600. The Council drew a bill for the Company's debt, which CHARNOCK the Agent had returned):

" enordering us to pay the same out of Mr. DODD'S Estate, notwithstanding we had advised them it was impossible."

DORREL, or DORRILL, Capt. See *Diary*, pp. 20, 31, 63, etc. This is the name of the Captain of the Interloper ship *Crown*, on which Pitt took his cargo in 1682, leaving the Downs some three weeks after Hedges in the *Defence*, and reaching Balasore eleven days before that vessel. Hedges made a vigorous attempt to get the Nabob's officer to arrest Pitt and Dorrell, but, as he says (p. 63):

" The Perwannas (for their arrest) were compounded with BULCHUND for a good sum of money."

Hedges last mentions the pair of interlopers going past him in their sloop, armed with four guns, and with 30 English seamen rowing in the *Crown's* pinnace, to tow the sloop (p. 66). Three days later (5th Feb. 1683) they sailed for Europe.

Ten years later we find Capt. ROBERT DORRILL, commander of the Rt. Honble. Company's ship *Charles II*, at Chuttanutty or Calcutta, sitting as Second of the Council of the Bay, the confidant and right-hand man of the Company's " General", Sir John Goldsborough, and employed by him in the crushing of Interlopers, of whom Pitt was still one. It is not absolutely certain that this was the same Captain Dorrill whom we have just spoken of, whose Christian name I do

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not find.[1] But I suspect it was the same. The hostility of the Company's servants to the Interloper, even when honestly professed and vigorously exercised, was only, it appears to me, official and perfunctory. It was rarely embittered by actual collision, like the relations between coastguardsmen and smugglers, or game-keepers and poachers. We see Hedges, notwithstanding all his denunciations of interlopers and of those Company's servants who had familiar intercourse with them, as soon as he is out of the service, allies himself with Douglas, also a dismissed servant, a declared interloper, in chartering a vessel to the Persian Gulf, and conducting a caravan through Persia. Captain Lake, one of the Company's officers, declares that "if he did not like the Company's employment this voyage, he would turn interloper the next" (p. 90). Sir Thomas Grantham, a trusted officer, and admiral for the nonce, "is the person", says Hedges, "on whom the Company chiefly relies for taking and destroying of Interlopers; and he has treated those he has mett of them with greater respect than any other of their Commanders" (p. 201).

It is true, indeed, that the Court, whose Instructions to Capt. Dorrill as Commander of the *Charles the Second* are dated 29th Feb. 1691-2, write on the same day to Fort St. George:

"Captain DORRELL is a worthy man and *stanch to our Interest since he engaged with Us*, and has assured Us, he will never see Our ffaces again if any Interloper make a Voyage at any place where he is. And we have reciprocally given him the respect of being next of our Councell after our Agent Mr. CHARNOCK while he stays in the Bay."

But the very words which we put in Italics suggest the reformed Interloper; and consider the history of THOMAS PITT, as indicated hereafter!

Captain R. Dorrill, after Sir John Goldsborough's death at Calcutta, departed with his ship, the *Charles II*, in the end of January or beginning of February 1693-4, carrying home the papers, etc., of the deceased "General". The two following documents bear upon this.

From Capt. ROBERT DORRILL *to Court.*[2]

"*Calcuta*, Jany. y^e p^mo 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

"Right Honb.

"These are to accompany some Papers, the Duplicates of which, with some others, I have with me on *Charles the Second*, with the Commissary's Letter which he begun before his sickness, but not finished[3]; and his last orders for displacing Mr. ELLIS; which God willing att my arrivall will deliver you; and

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[1] And in the Court Book of 21st Nov. 1694, I find mention of a bill drawn by the Governor of St. Helena in favour of Captain JOHN Dorrill, so there were certainly two skippers of the name.

[2] O.C. 5909.

[3] See pp. xcii-xciii, *supra*.

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give you A Just account of your Affairs in this Country; not knoweing but these may reach your hands before my arrivall; with my humble service to you I am

"Right Honb.

"Your most humb. and Ashured Servt.

"ROBERT DORRILL."

"CHUTANUTTE, January 169$\frac{2}{3}$.

"Tuesday 25th. *At a Consultation.*[1]

"Present: The Rt. Worshpll CHARLES EYRE, Esq. Agt.
Capt. ROBERT DORRILL and Mr. JOHN BEARD.

"The time of Capt. DORRILL's departure being near at hand, It was thought fitt that the Commissary Generall's orders, which were left in the hands of Capt. DORRILL, should be put in Execution; whereupon Mr. CHARLES EYRE was by his Letter called from DACCA to take charge of the Agency, in the stead of Mr. FRAN: ELLIS. He accordingly left said place and arrived here the 23d inst. And this Day all the Rt. Honble Company's Servants were summon'd to appear to hear the said orders read, which was accordingly done, and the charge of the Agency taken from Mr. FRAN: ELLIS and delivered to Mr. CHARLES EYRE, and likewise the Rt. Honble Company's Papers, as Bills of Debt, Obligations, Cash Book &c. were demanded of Said Mr. FRANCIS ELLIS, which he promised to deliver up as soon as possible, his weakness at present not permitting him to proceed therein any further then the delivery up of the Rt. Honble Company's Cash, which amounts to Rupees 22 748 : 3^{a} : 8^{p}

"CHARLES EYRE.
"ROBERT DORRILL.
"JOHN BEARD."

"True Coppy of the originell Consultation,
"JONATHAN WHITE, Secy."

Captain Dorrill was chosen a member of the Court of Committees on 29th April 1696, but does not appear as re-elected in 1697.

DOUGLAS, ROBERT. A surgeon; arrived as such on the *Eagle*, in which STREYNSHAM MASTER came out in 1676, and went on to visit Bengal. Douglas obtained transfer to the factory service of the Bay, salary £36.

"Dec. 15th, 1676. RALPH HARWAR, chirurgeon of this ffactory (BALASORE) desireing to returne home for England by these ships, and Mr. ROBERT DOWGLAS the Chirurgeon of the *Eagle* being willing to accept of this employment, and Captain BONNILL his Commander consenting that they should change births, the Councell did also approve thereof." (*Diary of Mr. Streynsham Master*, in I. O.)

The Court, as recorded in the *Court Book* of 25th Jan. 1681-2, declare:

"That having received further advices of the unfaithfulness of Mr. MATTHIAS VINCENT, Mr. EDWARD LITTLETON, and Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS, in the management of the trust committed to them, it is ordered that the Agent,

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[1] O.C. 5910.

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Governour and Councill for the Bay doe upon their arrivall in India secure their persons and put them on board the Ship *Defence*, and send them for ENGLAND," etc.

These latter orders were not carried out, but the three were dismissed. Douglas appears in Hedges' *Diary* as an habitual trafficker with interlopers. He joined the ex-Agent in chartering the *Recovery* for the Persian Gulf, and accompanied him through Persia to Aleppo, assisting him medically in his severe illness there. He is last mentioned in the *Diary* at Scanderoon (p. 235).

"Robert Douglas" reappears in 1699 as supercargo of the *Macclesfield* galley, sent by the English (or New) East India Co. to China. As the New Company was largely officered by dismissed servants of the Old one, we might draw a probable inference that this was Hedges' travelling companion. But letters among the Pitt papers in the British Museum, including holographs of Douglas (whose writing as the Bay chirurgeon we know), leave the identity unquestionable. We also learn that Thomas Pitt and R. Douglas called each other "brother". Probably their wives were sisters.

Mrs. Douglas and a child appear incidentally in the *Diary* as having accompanied the Hedges party from Bengal to Madras; but they are not further accounted for therein.[1]

In the New Company's Letter-book we have, without date, but apparently of the end of January 1698-9, very full instructions to Robert Douglas Supercargo, of the *Macclesfield* Galley, in which the whole value of the cargo is stated at £39,136 0*s.* 3*d.*, of which £3,800 was Douglas's own. We have also the following letter from the Court of Directors of the New Company, dated 1st March 1698-9:

"Mr. ROBT. DOUGLAS

"S^r:

"Indorsed is our Order for Capt. HURLE, for placing our Tea between Decks. By Mr. RICKESIES we sent you the Patterns of Cloth and Stuffs on Board your Ship. We hope this Fair Wind will carry you through and save your Monsoone. We are very confident of your Dilligence, and have great hopes of Success under your Management. We are not fond of touching at BATAVIA, if you can Refresh anywhere else. God send you a prosperous Voyage, and that we may have a happy meeting."

Also there is a letter of earlier date to Captain Hurle of the *Macclesfield*, bound on a voyage "to and from CHINA or INDIA", in which the Court tell him:

"We would have you (as you are obliged by Charter party) in all things to observe and follow the Orders and Directions of Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS the Super Cargo. . . . ."

[1] Hedges says: "Mr. Dowglasse . . . . and his *Lady*"—an instance of the antiquity of this vulgarism (pp. 182-184), which was, however, general at that time.

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The Voyage was not so auspicious as the Directors had hoped. The following letter, giving some account of it, is in the Pitt Collection (B. M. Add. MSS. 22,851, f. 93).

From Robert Douglas to Governor Pitt.

"London, *Jan. ye 26th* 170½

"Dear Brother

"Yours of the 4th Oct. 1700 by the *Howland* was received by my Wife before my returne to England, and your last of the 24th Feby. 1701 by the *King William* I received about ten days agoe, by which I am very glad to hear of your health and prosperity and doe heartily wishe a Long Continnuance of both: I thank you for your care of that Small Concerne designed for my Son Charles who had left India before I knew any thing of it, and was likewise gone againe In our Company's Service for China before my returne, for which I am oblidged to my Good friends in our Company, who at his Mothers request provided so well for him. He is gone 2d Super Cargo to two Ships for Canton with a Stock of above 50000£: for which he is to have 1½ Pr. Cent. Commission for his part, so that in case he behaves him Selfe well for this time, he is in a very Good way for the future.

"I shall not trouble you with the long account of my troubles In China, which indeed were so many and tedious as not to be comprised within the narrow bounds of a Letter, however I think fitt in short to informe you that we were detained so long at Canton till we lost our Monsoon, and the most part of our English goods were returned upon our hands to the amount of about 24000 *Tailes:* Conterary to all Justice after they had kept them about 5 or 6 months. As soon as it came to be knowen that the Same Sort of Goods were Sould at Emoy by your Company's Servants at much Chaper rates then ours were Sould for, vizt: Some at 50, some 60, and some 80 p. cent. losse:

"The 2d Occasion of our troubles was upon the account of the riseing of the price of white Nankeen silk after we had made our Contract with the Merchants, occasioned by the Arrivall of a Great Ship from Maneela that brought up much of that Comodity, So that instead of the full quantity of Raw Silk which our Merchants were oblidged to deliver us, they forced severall other Goods upon us, that we had not agreed for, only because it was more for their advantage and intrest, And notwithstanding all my Complaints to the Mandarines and all the Endeavours I could use, yet I was necessitate to put up all these Injuries, and a great many more to gett in what was due to us, which at last by the blessing of God, with the Assistance of our first Merchant (whose intrest became inter-woven with ours) we got effected. But it was the 18th fully before our Ship got out of Canton River, and from thence I resolved for Limpo,[1] hopeing there to make up all our Losses, by Selling our returned Goods at a better rate, and procureing the remainder of our Nankeen Silk much chaper, it being much nearer that Countrey then Canton. But our Ship was not Sufficed to goe nearer Limpo then Chusan, which is an Island in 30: Deg: Latt: where I mett with many new troubles, ours being the first English Ship that ever loaded from thence. However at last by Gods help I overcame all those difficultys and Sould all our Goods and procured what Silk I wanted and got ready to saile by the 24th Dec: 1700. And might have been dispatced much sooner and fared much

[1] *I.e.*, Ningpo.

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better, had not President CATCHPOLE come so soon after us (in about 2 monthes) before we got in all our Silk, but I do believe that his Ship (according to what I could foresee) can not returne hear till next Summer.

"I arrived in England the 4th July last, but our Raw Silk is not yet Sould, but is appointed to be the 10th of the next month, and it is believed when our Accounts are ballanced, and all Charges cleared, that notwithstanding of our many Losses and disapointments, yet we shall double our Principall Stock, which is more then our Company Expected, and more then any Ship has done from INDIA or CHINA this last year.

"As for Newes I shall not trouble you with any Account I can give you, knowing that you will receive much better Intelligence from other hands, especially about the uniting of the two Companys, which is now at last effected, to the Generall Satisfaction of all people: Your Lady and Children are all well, my sister and cussin Essex[1] are at present in towne, but the rest are all in the Countrey. I shall not trouble you any further, but to assure you that in case I can be serviceable to you in any respect hear, you may freely comand

"Dear Bro:

"Your most affectionat Bro: and humble Servt.

"ROBERT DOUGLASS."

At a later date we have the following letters from Governor Pitt to Douglas, and to his own eldest son, Robert Pitt, speaking of Douglas's son Charles, who is mentioned in the preceding letter as employed in the China trade (B. M. Add. MSS. 22,849).

From Governor PITT

"*To* ROBT: DOUGLAS *Esqr: at* HAMM *in* SURREY.

"Fort St. Geo: March ye 1st 170¼.

"Dear Brother,

"I wrote you by the *Dutchess* who sailed on the 15th past month, when the *Sidney* came in, on which is my Godson CHARLES; to whome I have given my assistance in getting him a good returne for his money. I take him to be a very pretty young mann in all respects, who with the assistance of Friends will soon make his fortune, and as for mine he shall never want, and I am confident he will never yours, who promises to be a great comfort and Creditt to you, and I Myselfe, am not a little proud of him, and have recommended him to all my ffreinds. I heartyly wish they may save their passage, and gett home well to you, to whome I referr you for the newes of these parts. Soe with my Service to you and sisters, Cozens and Freinds, I am Dear Brother," &c.

"To Mr. ROBERT PITT, Mercht. LONDON.

"Fort St. George March y^r^ 2d. 170¼

"Son Robin,

"Your Cozen CHARLES DOUGLAS went hence for FORT ST. DAVIDS last night when I lent him fifty Pagodas for which he is to pay you thirteen shillings and sixpence per Pagoda, when he receives his money, which he has lett out att the same rate on Diamonds, and his obligation for the same comes inclosed, and Cozen CRADOCKS Receipt for a Chest of Arrack and two Jars of Mangoes....

"Your affectionate father

"THOMAS PITT."

[1] Pitt's younger daughter, afterwards the wife of Charles Cholmondeley of Vale Royal.

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Saml: Griffith
Phi: Trenchfeild
Tho: Ley:
Edwd: Oxbrough:

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Pitt's Letter-book shows him as good as his word, sending many cordial letters of recommendation of Charles Douglas to his influential friends at home.

ELLIS, FRANCIS. Nominated Writer 14th Nov. 1671; arrived in India 1672. Is associated in the Commission of Hedges as 5th of Council at Húglí. Hedges and said Council, March 26, 1683, dismiss him from the Company's service on a charge of unfaithfulness (i, p. 72). He remonstrates and appeals against this as beyond their powers (pp. 120-121), and is strongly supported by Charnock and the Council of Kásimbázár. This view must have been confirmed by the Court, for we find Ellis admitted to the Council immediately on the arrival of President Gyfford (pp. 158, 167, 179). Indeed, it would appear from the Court's Letter to Bengal of 20th Sept. 1682, which gives authority to the Agent and Council "to remove any in their employ *except of the Council of Hughly*", that Mr. Hedges had distinctly exceeded his powers.

Ellis continued to rise in the service; he was 2nd in Council at Húglí with Job Charnock during the troubles of 1686, in the unfortunate occupation of Hijilí, in the second exodus from the Húglí river in 1688, and in the return from Madras in 1690. On Charnock's death at Chatánatí (or Calcutta) in Jan. 1693, he succeeded as officiating Agent, and was so nominated by the Court (3rd Jan. 1693-4), who conferred on him Charnock's authority, with a reservation regarding the fuller powers of control held by the Company's "General in India", Sir John Goldsborough. The latter, however, on his visit to Chatánatí in Sept.-Nov. 1693, had formed a very unfavourable judgment of Ellis (see p. xciii, *supra*), ordering his removal to Fort St. George, and the appointment of Mr. Eyres to take his place (see above under Dorrill).

Mr. Ellis had always been looked on with indulgent eyes by his old masters, as repeatedly appears from the Court's letters, nor did they easily assent to his being set aside:

"It is not Mr. Yale's Interest or art, nor yet Mr. Charnock's that soe easily procured us such fair quarter from the Mogull's Officers on your Coast and in Bengall or elsewhere, these two last years, but a plaine honest man, Mr. Francis Ellis of Bengall, writes, 'It is the remembrance of our cutting and slashing,' as he calls it, 'in the late Warr, by which they found us not to be Banyans, as they used before to call us,' nor yet so weak as the Interlopers represented us to be." (*Court to the* Fort, 10th April 1693.)

"Mr. Francis Ellis may have had some failings, and peradventure was aggravated overmuch to our late Worthy Generall, which caused him to displace him. But we must be so just to Mr. Ellis as to own that the Goods generally provided by him have come out competently well sorted, and therefore we have no reason to abandon such an old Servant, but have constituted him one of our Council of Fort St. George in as high a Station as we could conveniently . . . ." (*Court to Bengal*, 6th March 1694-5.)

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We find him eventually, in 1701, sitting in the Council of the Fort as Second to Governor Pitt, and he died in that position in 1704.[1]

EVANS, Rev. JOHN, came out as Chaplain to the Bay in 1678. He has no good character from Hedges, being represented as too keen a trader for his cloth, and always the associate of interlopers. He went to Madras during the Bengal troubles, whether with Charnock and the rest, or at an earlier date, is not clear. He still appears in a return for 1692 as one of two ministers attached to Fort St. George, but disappeared in the following year, as we see from Sir John Goldsborough's correspondence:

Extract from FORT ST. GEORGE *Letter to* Sir J. G., *dated* 29th June 1693[2]:

"... . Just as they were going off we were inform'd that Mr. JNO. EVANS and Mr. WM. TOMPSON went privately last night to ST. THOMA and from thence aboard the Armenian Ship *St. Mark*, which sailed in the night as soon as they came on board. We thereupon agreed to write to the Agent &ca. to gett them into the factory and keep them there till your Excy's arrivall, justly suspecting the buissy pollitick Padre goes upon ill designes, to the prejudice of the Rt. Honble. Company's affairs."

To which Sir John replies:

"By the want of the MADRASS Generall by the *Saphire*, which ordred their keeping Padre EVANS in the factorie till my arrivall, because he ran away from MADRASS, the Agent had given him Leave to go to HUGHLY, some few days before I came . . . ."

And again, Oct. 14:

"Padre EVANS lyes still at HUGLY, he wrote to Capt. DORRELL to obtain Leave that he might Imbarque on him for ENGLAND, to which answer was Returned that as he ran away from MADRASS, if he Returned thither again, and came off fairly with Leave of the Government, he should have Leave to goe on what Ship he pleased."

The Court at home seem to have had a just appreciation of Mr. Evans:

". . . . No Interloper, if they could, would adventur to BENGALL, their Hopes and confidence of making a Voyage being singly in that man whom they hope to secure to themselves and their Interest by Mr. TRENCHFIELD and the Merchant-Parson EVANS. But they know very well that the Parson and his

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[1] Court's Commission of 10th April (1693) constitutes a "Court of Admiralty in Bengall, of which FRANCIS ELLIS is to be Judge thereof, and failing him JOHN HILL." (This is the disreputable person mentioned by Sir John Goldsborough; see p. xcii, *supra*.)

[2] O.C. No. 5881. Item 12.

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Brother TRENCHFIELD can do no feats without the Assistance of MUTTRIDAS. Wherefore if it be not done, We must enjoyn our Agent that setting all Quarrells aside He be reconciled and all of one peice with MUTTRIDAS, though it should cost us 1000£, or two, or more . . . ." (*Court to* BENGALL, 10th April 1693.)

There are two letters of this questionable ecclesiastic's, which have found their way into the India Records:

(1.)[1]

"To Mr. RICHARD EDWARDS, Chief for ye Honble Company's Affaires att BALLASORE. These.

"Worthy Sr

"My last to you had no other bussnesse but to acquaint you that I intended to accompany Mr. BYAM to KENDOA, where I beg'd yr. honr to meet me. I promised myself a great deal of Satisfaction in your good Company which would sufficiently recompense the trouble I might possibly meet with in the Voyage, but alass! my forward hopes are allready dasht, and I am unhappily forc'd to be Extreamly rude to you, for Mr. VINCENT has order'd the Sloope not to touch att KENDOA. And Mr. HERON and others tell me that I shall run a great Hazard of my Life If I venture in one of these Country boates from the Sloope to the foremention'd place, Soe that there is noe other way Left but a disappointment. I will make noe Apology for this high piece of rudenesse, but remitt it to Mr. BYAM &c.

"I'll assure you Nothing would have made me disappoint you but a manifest danger of my Life. Mr. VINCENT's unkindnesse in this particular to me has occasion'd me noe small disturbance. I knew nothing of it till the Sloope was ready to Saile.

"I need not to acquaint you what Clamors are here made every day against you, for you have it by better hands. I hope you will soe manage your affaires Soe that neither the malitious nor foolish shall have noe just (cause) to raile att you. Let me beg a letter by the first Oppertunity, for Other wise I will recken you are displeased with me. I am yr. ffaithfull and humble servant

"HUGLY, Aprill 2d, 1679. "JOHN EVANS."

(2.)[2]

"To Mr. EDWARD READ, Merchant In LONDON.

"Worthy Sr "Dec: 5: 82. Decca.

"Yrs of Jany 16: 168½ I recd by Capt. WILLDYE's Ship, the new Agent being arriv'd some Weekes before. I am sorry the Ladie's unwillingness should deprive us of enjoying your good Company here once more. Mr. VINCENT and Mr. L.[3] are in a fair way to finish their bussnesse to their own hearts content; if they can escape att home as they have done here, they are very fortunate men. I shall referr you to Mr. CHARNOCK, Mr. HERVEY, and Mr. POUNSETT for particular account of this year's transactions. The two Interloping Gentlemen Leave the Country with high indignation against them, and severall others amongst us, threatening to doe mighty matters when they arrive in England, but I hope their expectations will not be answer'd in every instance. Mr. VINCENT's

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[1] O.C. No. 4594.

[2] O.C. No. 4867. Several words are illegible.

[3] Littleton.

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ill will to me continued to the Last, for no other reason but that *which you know very well* . . . . I would not quarrell with all those he was an Enemy to. If upon Enquiry you understand that he endeavours to bespatter me among my Patrons in ye Committee, I entreat you to prevent his ill designs by Securing my interest and reputation with them. I received a Letter from Mr. Marshall att My Lord of London's, he writes that you and he are pleas'd to remember me when you meet, for which I return you my hearty thankes. I design to write to him this Shipping, and take all possible care in procuring those insects he writes for. It pleas'd God to take to himself both my children in June Last, and my wive's Sister who was married to Mr. Byam miscarried and dyed the same month. My wife is grown exceeding Fatt and . . . . she presents her humble service to you and yr good Lady, and soe doth

"Sr: yr: humble servant

"John Evans."

EYRES, or EYRE, CHARLES (eventually Sir Charles), came out to India as Writer in 1675. The first mention of him in India that I find is in a letter from Húglí Council to Mr. R. Edwards at Balasore, Oct. 14th, 1678:

"If the writers and Seamen are not yet come away, you may detain Charles Eyres for the assistance of the factory and send up all the rest" (O.C. 4502).

In 1679 he was 3rd of Council at Dacca, and was still there in 1682; also at a much later date when the factories were resettled in 1690. Hedges calls him Mr. *Eyre*, and so does Mr. Bruce. He is also once or twice called so by the copyist in the Court's Letter Book. But at his first nomination, as well as in the majority of instances afterwards, up to his holding the Agency, he is called *Eyres* (see p. xcv, *supra*). I must add, however, in correction of that passage, that from the date of his Agency, he seems to be generally called, and to sign himself, *Eyre*. When Francis Ellis, who had succeeded as Agent in Bengal on the death of Mr. Charnock, was remanded to Fort St. George on the recommendation of Sir John Goldsborough (p. xciii), Eyre was appointed to the Agency,[1] and held it till 1698, when he was compelled by

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[1] The Court do not seem to have been too well pleased at the nomination of Mr. Eyres, as this quotation indicates:

"We designed Mr. Beard (whom we believe to be honest) to be Agent of Bengall, in case of the death or removall of Mr. Ellis, as you will perceive by our last year's letters. Mr. Eyres may likewise be honest, for anything we have heard to the contrary, and may discharge that imployment very well. We know our good Generall deceased meant well in the alteration he made, but time must discover whether it will prove so or not, but it happening undesignedly on either side that our said Generall's order for establishing Mr. Eyres as Agent should be Thwart to Ours for establishing Mr. Beard Agent, it is not possible for us at this time to know what our President and

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failure of his health to return to England, and was succeeded by Mr. John Beard (junior).

The following extract from a Bengal letter, written during Mr. Eyre's Agency,[1] contains the true origin of the name of a famous and fatal shoal in the Húglí River, for which various fanciful etymologies have been devised:[2]

"The *Royall James and Mary* arrived in BALLASORE Road from the WEST COAST[3] in August, with 286 Behars and 415 *lb.* of Pepper, and redwood 268 Candy 16 *mds.* which she took in at MADDRASS, but coming up the river of HUGLEY on the 24th September she fell on a Sand on this side TUMBOLEE point and was unfortunately lost, for she Immediately Over sett and broke her back, with the loss of 4 or 5 men's lives. On notice of the Accident from the Commander Captain ROBERT BUCK, the Master of Attendance, Capt. HAMPTON, was ordered to their Assistance with the *Mary* Buoyer, the Europe Ship's long boats, and Seamen, (and) severall boats from the Shoar with as many lascars out of every particular Shipp belonging to this place as wee could spare, who after many days' labour were not able to save of Your honour's pepper above 222 *mds.* and 132 Sticks of redwood, the hould of the Shipp being allmost continually full with water. The Gunns, Cables, Anchors, some masts, Sayles, and a great deale of Cordage was saved by the Care and dilligence of Capt. HAMPTON, and since dispos'd of by the Commander for 6200 rupees, for accompt of the Owners, and likewise the wreck as it lay, Severall Commanders of Shipps giving in their Judgements and Opinions that 'twas for the Interest and Advantage of the Owners to dispose of her in that posture . . . . and according she was sold, with the Longboate, for 1500 Rupees more." (*Bengal Letter to Court*, of 14th Dec. 1694.)

We give an extract from a letter written a little later (O.C. 5959):

"Wee observe what your honours write as to maintaining Your Sloop's Ware and Tare &ca. by the month, by agreeing with some able masters of Pilotts, and if wee can find such people who will undertake it, wee shall not neglect so proffatable a business. The Master of Attendance mentioned to your honours by the late Agent &ca. was since approved of by the Generall S^r JNO: GOLDSBOROUGH as a very necessary man, to whome he gave severall imployments, vizt. the Salting up of provisions for the WEST COAST &ca., the looking after the Buzzar and Streets, and Examining all boats that pass to and fro within our Jurisdiction, and more perticularly hempen manufacture is under his Care, which is much improved, and is a place of trust in which he hath great experience. But since it is your honours pleasure that he be Dismist the Service wee have onely Deferred it till further orders from FORT ST. GEORGE, the rather because your Honours have Confirmed the alterations made by the Generall, amongst which this is one. Wee Doe really belive your honours have suffered in your

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Councill of FORT ST. GEORGE have resolved in that doubtfull case, and by Consequence we do not know who is our Agent at this time." (*Court's Letter to Bengal*, 6th March 1694-5.)

[1] O.C. 5949.

[2] This origin has been indicated by Sir George Birdwood in his interesting Report on the Records. But he did not quote the passage.

[3] *I.e.*, of Sumatra.

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stores formerly by embezlements, and the like, for want of a Carefull and knowing man such as this is[1] who understands the River like wise, as well as most of our pillots, and often Dos Pillotts worke, when they are otherwise imployed." (***Bengal Letter to Court,*** **15 Jany. 1694-5.)**

Very shortly after his return to England Eyre (who was knighted 17th December 1699) was reappointed to Bengal with enhanced dignity, under the circumstances described in the following extract of a letter to Bengal, of 20th Dec. 1699:

"We are now to answer your Generall Letters by the *Tavistock* and *Anna*. But first we think fitt to acquaint you that our Agent Mr. EYRES, having arrived in the *Tavistock*, and finding our affaires opposed by those who call themselves a New Company ordered by Act of Parliament, of which you have ere now received a full account, and the Instruments made use of by that Company being persons that got their Bread, and had their rise in our service, particularly S^r: EDWARD LITTLETON, sent out to manage their Affairs in the BAY of BENGALL, our said Agent having now recovered a good State of health, has (out of a just but unusuall Gratitude) offered his services to return again to the BAY, not doubting but by the Assistance of you Our Councill to maintaine and increase our Interest and Reputation in those Parts, and that We may have good and profitable Returnes of these large Effects We have already sent, and shall continue to send you . . . .

". . . . . We have constituted our said Agent (upon whom his Majesty has been pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood) to be our President there, and Governour of our ffort &ca. which we call FFORT WILLIAM . . . ."

The surviving correspondence of this time, at the India Office, is exceedingly defective, and I have been able to trace little in it of Sir Charles Eyre's actual assumption of the Government of Fort William. This hiatus is to some extent filled up by the contents of private letters in the British Museum, which show that Eyre, very shortly after his arrival in Bengal, threw up his Presidency, which he held only some seven months, and returned home finally in January 1700-1 (see under BEARD, junior).[2]

Eyres (or Eyre) had married Mary, the eldest daughter of Job Charnock, whose epitaph is given at p. 40 of vol. i. See also letter to Mrs. Eyres ("Madam Aress"), given at p. xcv, *supra*.

From Sir EDWARD LITTLETON *and* JONATHAN WINDER *to the Court of Directors of the* ENGLISH *Company,*[3] dated "Hugly, 4th June 1700."

". . . . Your Honours Ships, of which none are yet arrived, tho' two of the Old Companys be, vizt. the *Chambers* Friggot, who touched at CADIX and

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[1] Capt. Hampton. See last extract.

[2] Mr. Bruce does not seem to have been more fortunate in tracing the Presidency of Sir Charles Eyre. He leaves the facts quite obscure, without noticing that they are so.

[3] O.C. 7089.

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arrived the 22th last month, and the *Fame* the 27th,[1] on which theire new President is, who touched and Stayed at MADRASS four dayes in his waye hether.

"Wee are not at all abashed att the comeing of theire new President and all his traine in respect to your Honours affaires . . . ."

Another letter of the same writers (O.C. 7087) to the Council of Surat, calls the New President "Sr CHARLES AYRES".

From Sir CHARLES EYRE *to* Sir HENRY JOHNSON (from CALCUTTA, but without date of time or place,[2] probably written about November 1700).

"Most Honoured S^r^

"I am favour'd with yours of the 6th March, and have received the Chariott which I little Expected, and truly will be of no use to me here, however I shall send you 2 Returns in Raw Silk by the *Fame* according to your desire, for the *Anna* will be a late Shipp, but hope she will be dispatch'd time enough to save her passage about the Cape. Poor Capt. BRYDGES Dyed as soon as he Arrived in the River, and Capt. KELLY has Administered to his Estate according to Capt. BRYDGES his request before he Dyed.

"I returne you my humble thanks for your present of the Chest of Clarrett, and often drink your health, not forgetting all other favours received from you in ENGLAND. Mr. BEARD being willing to Continue President of BENGALL, and a Strange distemper having seiz'd me ever since I left England, I have chose rather to returne then Continue in a post of such Consequence, and not able to Execute it to the Satisfaction of my Employers, as this present Indisposition has Incapacitated me. I have no more to say but to beg the Continuance of your favours, which shall always be gratefully acknowledged by

"Honor^d^ S^r^

"Your most obliged humble and faithfull Servant

"CHARLES EYRE.

"Sr Pray returne my humble respects to your Lady, the Lady your Daughter, and my Lady Rawstone."

Governor Pitt writes to Sir H. Johnson from Madras, Jany. 29th, 1700-1:

"Sr CHARLES calling in here on his return home, which I believe will be no less surprize to you than 'tis to me, I could not omit giving you my services," etc.[3]

The next letter is from Eyre to Governor Pitt, after his arrival in England,[4] dated at end "LONDON, March 18th 1701-2".

"Honor^ble^ S^r^:

"After a very troublesome passage it pleas'd God to bring me safe to Old ENGLAND againe, tho' I thought once to have perished by a dreadfull storm which took us about 300 Leagues short of the CAPE, but by God's Mercy was sav'd by Cutting away our Main mast.

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[1] The Old Court's Letters by the *Fame* are dated Dec. 1699.

[2] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,136, f. 192.

[3] Add. MSS. 22,186 (Johnson Papers).

[4] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,851, f. 91.

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"I have Comply'd with my Contract in delivering the Eight Bulses of Diamonds to S[r] STEPHEN EVANCE. But Mr. COULSON would not accept of your bill of 4090*l*: But Mr. DOLBEN with the Advice and Consent of your Lady discharg'd the Same, and the Diamonds S[r] STEPHEN has expos'd to Sale and has made the most of them for your Advantage, but you will be a Mighty Looser by the bargain; for I understand they were bad of the Sorts, and bought very dear with you.

"The Raw Silk by the *Chambers* Frigott sold to a very good Account, but Muslins at a very low rate. I am heartily sorry for your loss in the Diamonds, but hope you will stay in the Country and fetch it up, and not come home so soon as you expected, for we are all in troubles here by the Death of the King and I see no Avoiding a War with France.

"I wish you health and prosperity and Conclude

"S[r], your Faithfull Freind and humble Servant

"CHARLES EYRE."

Another letter from ELIHU YALE, ex-Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, to Governor Pitt, leads us to suspect that the "strange distemper" in Sir Charles Eyre, which put on so strong a semblance of home sickness, was really love!

"London the 12th ffeby. 1701-2.

* * * * * * *

"S[r] CHARLES EYRE arriv'd well, after a troubled Stormy Voyage, to his fair Mistress to whom he was more Wellcome then to the Company, who at first hotly resented his disapoynting them of his Service, but it soon cool'd to kindness, haveing little to say to him; Soon after which he marryed, and much transported in the Sweet embraces of his Mrs: and an advantagious Voyage, I doubt not at your and his INDIA frends Cost, which I am heartily sorry for. But loss by the Dyamond Trade is a generall complaint, wherein with the rest I am likely to be a Sufferer, and indeed there's no medling with them except you can buy much cheaper then last year...."

The suspicion expressed above as to the nature of Eyre's indisposition is confirmed by the following, found since that passage was in type:

From JOHN RUDGE, *Esq.*, *to Governor* PITT, LONDON, *the 17th March* 1701-2:

* * * * * * *

"I think S[r]: C. E. has not acted the part of a Gentleman towards the Company, and could they have Suspected he would have soe soon Return'd, they would for certaine never have sent him, at least never have showne him soe perticular ffavour as they did, and of which I thinke you have Reason to Complaine. You will hear said Gentleman is married, being Deeply in Love when he went, and that Excuses all."[1]

Putting all the recovered data together, we may safely state that Eyre arrived in Bengal as President in May 1700; left it again early in January 1700-1, and reached England again in the autumn of 1701.

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[1] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,849, No. 77.

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A Mr. John Eyres or Eyre appears in the list of Bengal servants as Factor in 1713; as Chief at Balasore in Feb. 1717; as "Jemindar" at Calcutta in 1720; and died there 20th April 1722. Possibly a son of Sir Charles's?

FITZHUGH, WILLIAM.

"Mr. WILLIAM FITZHUGH, being recommended to the Court as a person duly qualified as a Merchant to serve the Company in India; the Court were now pleased to entertain the said Mr. FITZHUGH to be chief of their Factory at BALLASORE, and he was now admitted to the Freedom of this Company, at £60 per annum." (*Court Book*, under date 3rd Nov. 1682.)

The appointment to Balasore took effect on the death of Mr. Byam, July 1683 (see a letter of Húglí Council, dated 16th *idem*, O.C. No. 4953).

GAYER, Sir JOHN. This gentleman, like the two other knights who follow him in this alphabetical series of biographical notices, was a sea-captain. He is only once named by Hedges, viz., as Commander of the *Society* (p. 65). Our notice of him, though hardly brief, must be fragmentary. A full one would demand more space and more time than we can now bestow.

The first mention of Gayer that I find is in the *Court Books*, 7th April 1682:

"The Owners of the *Society*, presenting Mr. JOHN GAYER to command the said Ship in the room of Captain W. THOMSON, who desired leave to stay at home. The Court approved thereof, and he was now admitted into the Freedom of the Company."

3rd June 1692, we find:

"Capt. JOHN GAYER appointed Governour of the Port and Island of BOMBAY. And to have such other employment and characters conferred upon him as this Court shall hereafter think fit." (*Court Book*, of the date.)

In 1693, when a commission was issued to Sir John Goldsborough, already Commissary-General, etc., of the Company's settlements, as "General and Commander-in-Chief, &ca.," a commission was also issued to Gayer (who had been knighted on the 18th March), under date 10th April:

"Constituting and ordaining him to be our Lieutenant-Generall, Governour of BOMBAY, and Directore-in-Chief of all our Affaires and ffactoryes, &c. &c. . . . next and under Our Generall Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH,"

and also appointing him to succeed to the higher post in case of the death of the said General. He came out, after that casualty, as Governor of Bombay and General, reaching the Indian coast at

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Calicut 5th March 1693-4, and there hearing of the death of Goldsborough.[1]

Sir John Gayer's tenure of office was greatly prolonged; but he had fallen on evil times, and the prosperity of his rule bore no proportion to its duration. The disasters chiefly sprang from the proceedings of the Company's rivals, legitimate and illegitimate, in the race for the acquisition of wealth in the Indian seas. For the unchartered or interloping trade developed on the one hand into piracy, and on the other into the growth of an antagonist Company, sanctioned by the King and Parliament.

There was ground for the plea, which the advocates and loyal agents of the East India Company often used against the "interlopers", that the characters of trader in that kind and of pirate were apt to be interchanged; and in those latter years of the 17th century the Indian seas were infested to an extent probably unparalleled, before or since, by European pirates. One of the most notorious of these was the famous Captain Kidd, who had been sent out in the employment of an association formed professedly to suppress the rovers, but who found it more to his taste to take up the trade himself. Another noted pirate was Every, or Evory, or Avory, whose seizure and plunder of a great Mogul ship on her way from Surat to Mocha, laden with pilgrims, created a tremendous excitement in Mahommedan India, leading to the imprisonment, by the Mogul Governor, of President Annesley, of Surat, with others of the Company's English servants at Surat, Swally, and Broach. And for years this charge of complicity with the pirates was made a handle of exaction against the English Companies by the native authorities. Evory is mentioned more than once by Captain Alexander Hamilton,[2] who says that the pirates first tried to establish a fortified settlement on Perim Island, at the mouth of the Red Sea, and afterwards on St. Mary's Isle, off Madagascar. A curious memorial of this man survives in the India Records, among papers that had been transmitted from India[3]:

"February ye: 28th 169$\frac{4}{5}$" (*sic*).

"To all ENGLISH Commanders lett this Sattisffye that I was Riding here att this Instant in ye: Ship *fancy* man of Warr formerly the *Charles* of ye Spanish Expedition who departed from Croniac[4] ye 7th of May: 94: Being and am Now in A Ship of 46: guns 150: Men and bound to Seek our fortunes. I have never as Yett Wronged any English or Dutch Nor never I intend whilst I am Commander wherefore As I Commonly Speake wth all Ships I desire who Ever Comes to y^{e}: perusal of this to take this Signall that if you or any whome you may informe are desirous to know w^{t}: wee are att a Distance then make your Antient up in a Ball or Bundle and hoyst him att ye Mizon peek ye Mizon Being furled I

[1] O.C. 5912.

[2] *New Account*, ed. 1744, i, 43, 147.

[3] O.C. 5981.

[4] Qu., Coruña?

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Shall answere wth ye Same: and Never Mollest you: for my men are hungry Stout and Resolute: and Should they Exceed my Desire I cannott help my Selfe as yett: An Englishmans friend "HENRY EVERY.

"There is 160: od french Armed men now att MOHILLA who waits for Oppertuniety of getting Aney Ship, take Care of your Selves."

The Court's Letters during those years (1694 *seqq.*) contain numerous references to this subject, *e.g.:*

From the Court to "Our Generall and Councill of INDIA", dated 17th July 1696:

"Upon the Advice you gave us in your Letter of the 28th May 1695, which we received by an Overland Conveyance the 10th of Aprill last, that one EVERY a Pyratt, being at JOHANNA in a ship called the *ffancy*, formerly the *Charles*, carrying 46 guns and 130 men, and the liklyhood there was of her Sailing into the Red Sea, and after ransacking the Gulph proceed[ing] to PERSIA, and do[ing] all the Mischief he can there, which you fear may procure infinite Clamours at SURRAT, and be followed with an Embargo from the Government of all we have there, We thereupon made an Address to their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England, that have the present Administration of the Government during the Kings absence in FFLANDERS, who have been pleased to issue out a Proclamation in his Majestys name for apprehending the said EVERY and his Ship, promising a reward of £500 . . . . You will herewith receive of the said Proclamations by this Ship which we would have published with all due solemnity in all our ffactoryes . . . ."

Again:

To the same, 7th August 1696.

"We understand by a Youth that is lately come to London, who went out in the *Charles* alias *ffancy*, That EVERYES Company consisted of 52 FFRENCH, 14 DANES, the rest ENGLISH, SCOTCH, and IRISH, had pillaged severall DANISH Ships on the Coast of GUINEY, some ENGLISH Ships on the Isle of MAY, besides their Robberies and villainous Practices on the *Gonsway* and other Ships in the RED SEA belonging to the Subjects of the GREAT MOGOL, which we cannot think of without astonishment and Detestation, being highly sensible of the sad Circumstances our President and Councill and ffactors at SURRATT are under on this occasion, and the evill Consequences that may happen to our affairs there...

"We observe the Prudent Methods you have used in writing to Court, as also to the Governour and chief *Umbraws*, and the cogent arguments therein used for vindicating the Innocency of the ENGLISH Nation from any such barbarous actions, in order to the regaining the Liberty of our Presidents and Servants at SURRATT . . . .

"The Ship *ffancy's* Company had been at the Isle of PROVIDENCE, where they had left their Ship and took Passage for Europe in severall Sloops, Two of them are lately come to IRELAND, where they are seized, and one other of the villains is taken at ROCHESTER, and will no doubt be speedily brought to Justice . . . ."

Again, in 1699, came the forerunners of the New (or English) East India Company, speedily followed by Sir Nicholas Waite as President and King's Consul, a gentleman who, like a large number of

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other servants of the New Company, was a dismissed agent of the Old one.

The servants of the Old (or London) Company refused in any way to recognise the new men, or even the position and authority of Sir William Norris, who came out as King William's ambassador to the Great Mogul; whilst Waite, who was most intemperate and unscrupulous, turned every engine against the Old Company and its servants; not even hesitating, it would appear, to make capital of the native excitement about piracy, and to charge that crime upon his rivals. The native government was ready enough to take advantage of these rivalries between the Englishmen. The ambassador had arrived 10th Dec. 1700, convoyed by four King's ships. It was not enough that a contest in bribery began between the agents of the two Companies; but in consequence, as it would seem, of Waite's representations and charges, Sir John Gayer, who had in an evil hour left his stronghold at Bombay and come to Swally, to aid in adjusting the disputes of President Colt with the Governor of Surat, was arrested there, along with Lady Gayer and some of his Council, by a body of native troops, removed to Surat, and there confined to the Factory. This confinement, with some temporary suspension, endured for years. In fact Sir John was still in confinement in the beginning of 1709, when the Companies had been finally welded together, as appears from President Aislabie's letter of the 5th January 1508-9, from which I shall copy a passage among the extracts of the records given a little further on. Indeed, as that part of the old correspondence from India which survives, in any state of arrangement, terminates with a few papers of the year in question, the curtain falls, as it were, upon Sir John Gayer, still a prisoner at large within the walls of Surat Factory, and I have been able to find no record of his release, or of his further history.

Poor Sir John Gayer did not suffer only from such serious adversaries as Mahommedan Governors and insolent agents of a rival Company; the records also transmit him in a somewhat ludicrous picture drawn by his own hand, of the manner in which he was worried by a foolish countrywoman, the widow of Sir John Child, one of Gayer's predecessors as "General" of the Company, and afterwards wife of George Weldon, his Deputy in the Government of Bombay. Perhaps an apology is due to my readers for printing this trivial document, but it is a bit of domestic comedy such as we can hardly match from these old papers, and I take pleasure in lighting upon anything that helps to bring before us our Anglo-Indian forerunners of the 17th century, in their habit as they lived. The document bears no address, but it was apparently written to account for Mr. Weldon's sudden resignation of office. Whether it actually was sent to the Court I cannot say, but its survival among the records of the office seems to imply that it was:

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"BOMBAY CASTLE, ye 10th June, 1695."

"This morning the Rt. Worspll: GEORGE WELDON comeing over to Councill as customary, a little after he was sate downe in the Consultation Roome, ere Wee entred upon any business: he said, to the best of my remembrance, that his servants had been denyed a quartr: of Mutton of what was prepared for the Table, when they were sent for it, and supposed 'twas not done by my orders; therefore desired that I would send for the Cooke and Steward. I replyed there had severall Complaints been made to me how his Worships Servants had many times sent for Victualls that was brought in for the Companys Table, and that when it was not lik't of, 'twas bro't: backe againe, which was that that gave great occasion of offence to them that was to eate it afterwards. Also that if it was not extraordinary meat, the best joints or peeces, they would never have none; he replyed that he ordered his servants to bring him none except it was ffatt, and that if they came for any and brought it back again 'twas without his order. To which I replyed that then his servants were to blame. But to satisfie him I sent for the Cooke and ask't what past between him and his Worships Servants. To which he answered that he had killed a Sheep which, being better than ordinary, his worships servants came as Customary for a hind quarter, and he told them that the Companys Table was soe great by reason of the addition of ffactors, writers and Apprentices, by the Agency, *Mocha* ffrigtt and *Tonqueen*, that he could not spare a quarter. Upon which his Worship replyed that he said more, and that his servant could testifie it. But his servant being called in Said noe more then the Cooke; At which his worship was displeased, and said he would send for noe more; to which I replyed he might doe as he pleased, and afterwards in discourse I said there would noe great evill ensue thereon; Afterwards wee betooke our Selves to publicke business, and noe more of this was mentioned."

"BOMBAY CASTLE, the 12th June 1695.

"In the morning before 8 a clocke my Lady CHILD came over to my Lodgeings, I being in my writeing room. She sent for me, telling the messenger she desier'd to speake with me. I presently went to her, where found her full freighted. She tells me that if I would hearken to little Stories of my Cooke and Servants to make breaches between us She must forbear comeing over to us. I told her I had given her noe occasion for a breach, and had too much business to hearken to little Stories, were I soe Inclined. She replyed that I had, by the Cooke denying her Servants victualls when she sent for it, and that her servants told her that the Cooke should say that my wife had ordered him to say that they had Occasion for the whole Sheepe. for the Company's Table, which on Concideration of the above mentioned (their often fetching and returning of Victualls, and excessive Clamourousness for the Choyce of all, my Wife did say was true) but as Soone as the Cooke came up and told her of what he had done, that she ordered they should have a hind quarter. Accordingly the Cooke sent word they might have it, but my Lady returned Answer, that she would not have any, being denyed. She alsoe multiplyed abundance of words, Saying that She never expected to have been served Soe by me, nor did they that sent me out[1] thinke I would have done Soe by her; that I and my wife had very much affronted her in many things. I replyed that this Accusation was in Generall tearmes, to which I could not make any Defence, otherwise than to assert that wee had in noe

[1] Probably "they that sent him out" meant Sir Josia Child, the lady's brother-in-law.

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wise injured her respect beyond what any elce would; that I never sought after the Imployment I came out in, that I had certainly borne that from her &ca.: that none in my circumstance besides would have done, but upon her urging the great abuses that was offered her, I desiered her to be perticular and tell me wherein I had once offended her. She told me that severall persons had told her and her Husband that they durst not come to their House for fear of disobligeing me. I answered her that them that gave her such Information were very falce, and that I did believe that none but Mr. SPRIGG would be guilty of Such an untruth. She replyed that She would not mention whom they were that did say this, because they had dependance on me, but I know full well from whom It proceeded, to witt from the fore mentioned, for having found him extraordinarily to frequent his worship's house even to a neglect of me, and thereby taking liberty to doe what was not convenient, pleading Custome &ca., I told him that if he did continue soe to doe, I would take other measures with him, notwithstanding whomsoever he had to backe him, and I further said, that he might goe over and flege (?) as he used to doe and tell his worship what I had said. After this my Lady vented a great deale against my wife that she had affronted her, and that I had not been soe good as my promiss to adjust her accompts, to which I replyed that I had told his worship that as soon as the Ships were despatch't I would sett about it, and was now ready to doe it when he would come over, but that before I had not time, business lying wholly upon me, for want of assistance. She replyed that they did not designe to come over againe, seeing their comeing was soe troublesome. I answered that I had not given them any occasion thus to Speake, but they might doe as they pleased in that matter. My Lady was pleased to make use of many other aggrevating words, and told me that Mr. WELDON had never continued in his Station on my arrivall, had it not been through her perswasion to serve the Company. I replyed that I knew little that he had served them in since my comeing more than comeing over to Councill on Councill days, which I esteemed a very small business for a Deputy Governour. She replyed that was as much as any Deputy Governour ever did. I told her that I knew to the Contrary, and thinke small occasion for one of such a Charge to the Company if noe more to be done by him. A great deale more was Said too tedious for me to insert, but the result of all was that it was not fitt for her and her Husband to come over to the Fort any more, but the best way to live at peace was for Mr. WELDON to keepe at home and doe his owne business. I replyed that if he was soe at her disposall, She might doe with him as She pleased. However I was resolved not to take the Answer at the Womans hand, but at four afternoon haveing a Generall Letter for SURATT, ready to be signed, I sent it over to him as Customary, which he returned unsigned with the following lines. This is the substance of what past to the best of my remembrance, which was the great breach that caused my Lady to dismiss her Husband of the Companys Service, when God knows if I had a thousand times more occasion to [have] begun with them, his Worship haveing done little more then his owne business ever since I came on the place."

The "lines" with which Deputy-Governor WELDON sent back the "General Letter":

"Rt. Honble S^r^

"I intend not to concerne my selfe any more in publique affairs, my reasons for which I shall give my Rt. H. masters when soe happy as to see them

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which I hope will be in noe long time, therefore returne the letter without reading or Signing

"Rt. Honble Sr Your Servt.

"B-BAY, ye 11th June, 1695. "GEORGE WELDON."

All that I have found from the Court touching Mr. Weldon's dismissal is this:

"It seems Mr. GEORGE WELLDON our late Deputy Governour gave you very short notice of his quitting that Station and our Employment. It will be some Satisfaction to us to know the reason of his so doing" (*Letter to* BOMBAY, 7th August 1696).

Before his unlucky migration to Surat, Sir John Gayer had desired to throw up his office and return home, as appears from the following letter, written with little foreboding of the years of confinement before him:

"*Sir* JOHN GAYER *to the Honble. the Governour, the Worshipfull the Deputy-Governour and Committees of the Rt. Honble. East* INDIA *Company, dated*

"BOMBAY CASTLE, Aug. the 18th, 1699:

"MAY it please your Honours, God hauing been pleased, in the space of 26 months last past to visit me with sundry severe fits of sicknesse, and I being seized this raines with a violent feaver, which lasted at most three weeks, to the apparent hazard of my life, I finde my selfe under a necessity of repeating my humble petition to your Honours, for my discharge, hoping that you will be pleased to consider that I have already been more than five years on this unhealthy Island, which, if I mistake not, is longer than any of my Predecessors have been, and the troubles that I have conflicted with while here Your Honours cannot but be sencible of; therefore hope you will not esteeme this my humble request Vnreasonable, but that you will be pleased to grant me the favor of returning to my native Countrey for the preservation of my life, which perhaps cannot be prolonged any considerable longer time here.

"Honble. Srs,

"Your Honours most dutifull and ffaithfull servant,

"JNO: GAYER."

The Court of the Old Company to "*Our Generall and Councill* of INDIA, residing at BOMBAY or SURATT," under date 3d Jan. 1704-5, thus refer to Sir John's captivity:

"Could we once hear you our Generall and the rest of our people at SURRATT were well gotten to BOMBAY, as we hope you are ere now, it would in great measure metigate our present uneasiness. We must do you the justice to say you have behaved yourselves like men of Resolution Probity and Zeal to our Service, to bear up under the savage treatment you have met withall, and not to give your consent to part with any of our Estate to those barbarous Oppressors . . . ."

Sir John Gayer and Council, in letters of March 31st and April 25th, 1706, give a frightful picture of the state of Guzerat, and the country between Surat and Ahmedabad, at that time, when Aurangzeb's death

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was near, and the whole region was given up to anarchy and the ravages of the "Sivajees" (*i.e.*, Mahrattas) and other plunderers, whilst the "Cooleys" were playing the same part at Cambay and elsewhere, and had plundered and burnt Brodera (Baroda), Neriad, Daboy (Dhaboi), and many other places.[1]

"Letters from Court of ten days date advise that this Governour haveing wrote the King that the Hatmen are grown very proud, and that the only way to humble 'em, and bring 'em to his feet, is to stop their trade in all parts of his dominions, he hath accordingly issued out his orders for the execution of the said project . . . ."[2]

GAYER *and Council to the Court*, dated SURATT, Nov. 12th, 1706:

"Since the departure of the *Howland* we have been clear of Guards, but none of this ffactory, the new ffactory, nor of the FFRENCH ffactory are permitted to goe without the Gates . . . ."

Sir JOHN GAYER *to the Old Company, dated* "SURATT, March the 1st 1706-7."

"May it please your Honours:

"Supposing the *Europe* may not depart BOMBAY ere this arrives, I shall add what has lately occur'd. Sundry letters to divers persons in this Town within the Compass of three days affirme that the Sun of this Hemesphere is set and that the Star of the 2d. Magnitude being under his Meridian and in his place in the Ecliptick (while above the Horizon) is exalted to his Orb in the heavens. What will ensue on this change of firmamentary lights God only knows; but tis fear'd that that of the first Magnitude, tho' under a Remoter Meridian and distant place in the Ecliptick, will strugle to exalt it self tho under disadvantages by Reason of the Remoteness from the former Sunns place and want of its warme influence, 'tis also added that that of the 2d. Magnitude is preparing for a Swift Race to the Equinoxiall Point of this Heaven where these Celestiall Bodies receive their full light.[3]

"Your Honours will I presume from BOMBAY have a particular account of the growth of the SEVEEJEE CANAJEE ANGRA, there ill and near Neighbour; he has lately taken a Ship belonging to Mr. MILDMAY and your Honours Broker at CARWAR, a Ship of the BOUCHERS of about 200 Tons, her cargo amounting to 70,000 rupees, the *Diamond* of MADRASS carrying 12 guns and twenty-six Europeans, her Cargo worth near two Lack of rupees, one of the Island Munchuas, another Ship of about two hundred tons to whome belonging I don't yet hear; and a DUTCH Hoigh, man'd with about 26 DUTCHMEN; besides Sundry other Small vessells, there is also a fresh Pirat Started up this year from

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[1] O.C. 8448, and 8451.

[2] O.C. 8451.

[3] Sir John, imprisoned in the factory, and afraid lest his letter should fall into wrong hands, discourses of the death of Aurangzeb (21st February), and the probable strife between his sons, in astronomical figures. The star of the second magnitude may be Prince A'zam Sháh, who aspired to succeed, and was in the Deccan, whilst that of the first magnitude is the eldest son, Prince Mu'azzam (or Sháh 'Alam), who was then in Kabul, and who did actually prevail, and reign as Bahádur Sháh.

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MADAGASCAR who hath taken near MOCO the *Dorothy* of MADRASS, a CALLICUT Ship of 400 Tons, Capt. STACEY in his Ketch *fforgiveness*, and a Small PORTUGUEEZE Ship belonging to DAMON; withall they have greatly inriched themselves and 'tis much to be fear'd So many Ships being gon and going to JUDDA and MOCHA this year that we Shall have a bad account of Some of them next August or September

"I am Honble Sirs
"Your Honours Most Dutifull and ffaithfull Servt
"JNO. GAYER."

The next extract is a specimen of the style of the malignant, wrong-headed, and muddle-headed Sir Nicholas Waite.[1] His letters are all, so far as I have gone into them, of this character, far surpassing in looseness of texture anything of Mrs. Nickleby's, and are generally, it seems to me, in his own holograph.

From Sir NICHOLAS WAITE *to the New Company, dated*

(O.C. 8515.) "BOMBAY CASTLE, March 3rd, 1706 7.

* * * * * * *

"16. I humbly intreat you'l excuse by the Ship *Europe* that arrived from PERSIA but the 30th Jany: and her goods to repack my repetition parte which has yeares past been wrote your Honours and was manifest truth before God and Man and then faithfully reply unto what every one of you Honoured Srs. may judge fact if you please heartily sorry wh: expected a reward of for my indefaticable and faithfull Services to read and hear the vexatious contests that has been introduc't into any of your Courts by what past at SURATT and since my comeing to this Island not executing the Managers orders which as matters occur'd bin wrote them and what I could to your Honours.

"17. If Messrs. PROBY and BONNEIL as I advis'd your Honours they promis'd to transmit copie our Consultations to the 7th: 9ber: 1704 by the *Rochester* would have evinc't yᵉ whole world, Sr. JNO: GAYER &ca: was under restraint by the Emperours orders for demands upon that Factory not materiall whether to their Broakers or other Merchants being the FRENCH and DUTCH had been yeares from Year to Year (but at noe time in Chaines as the old Factory was before I arrived) Shutt up within their Factorys till Last forcibly ajusted (? asserted) their liberty of which wrote Yeares and months past as matters offered to your Honours and the Managers and by the *Howland* went what I see was omitted by the *Rochester* to both Courts and informed in our letter to said Court of Managers Copie of declaration Signed and entered in our Consultation booke before I left SURATT by Messrs. PROBY and BENDALL, BONNEIL and WYCHE, that Sr. JNO: GAYER could not come downe to BOMBAY which excluded him as they therein say the United Service, and that if I was at liberty to goe was the next Person named and apointed by the Managers their Generall and Governor at BOMBAY otherwise Should not have taken upon mee a hazardous Journey and vexatious trouble for a knowne precarious and unprofitable Airy Feather in this unhealthfull ruin'd Island upon any other account then Securing your Separate Stock and Safety of the present and future Trade

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[1] Waite had been dismissed by the Old Company for misconduct at Bantam. (*Court to Surat*, 16th Nov. 1683.)

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as I wrote your Honours who had by Said Ship and *Mountague* from me Copied by Mr. CROW what Consultations had not been antecedently transcribed by said two Gentlemen for reasons best knowne to themselves who some months past against their owne handwriteing upon their consiences there entered and Signed in your Consultation Booke and months after I came to BOMBAY in their generall Letter to mee and Councill transmitted the managers confirmeing Sr JOHNS imprisonment as aforesaid; yet after RUSTOMJEE was dismist and to obviate our Charge of Indigo over vallued &ca: joined with Sr JOHN to corroborate what he had often aserted home that he had been detained by my bribeing the Government when in SURATT: which if fact why was the FFRENCH and DUTCH under restraint or S^r JNO: &ca. not free and at liberty, since my comeing hether 9ber 1704, to leave that City and Embarke when and where they pleased (tho the DUTCH who was upon other circumstances for their liberty) because S^r JNO: &ca: in Gods truth are to this day under confinement, probably not within their Factory Gates purchac't as Messrs. PROBEY and BONNEIL wrote us and as informed your Honours before the *Howland* sailed and am sorry the Honble: old Company are very untowardly lead to their Cost and noe little dishonour You'l find to the English nation with Eronious Scriblings and not one particular to be otherwise proved by the whole Earth if Publickly examined on the place as was desired in writeing by mee and Messrs. PROBEY and BONNEIL what related to our Factory of S^t JNO: GAYER &ca. before I left that Citty and sent both Courts by the *Rochester*.

"18. And in SURATT, and immediately after came to BOMBAY wrote the Gentlemen of the old Factory wee was alwayes ready if they was under any restraint informed us the causes thereof to take proper methods obtaining their liberty recd: for reply warm frail reflections Copies sent the Managers by the *Rochester* and *Howland* and since the *Aurungzebe* arriv'd renewed what antecedentes offered in great respect to the Honble: Old Company and the Managers. See in my directions, and not yet one line from said Gentlemen.

* * * * * * *

"23. The same day the *Aurungzeeb* arrived 16th: Jan^ry: transmitted what the Managers wrote relating to SURATT, avoiding wee hoped every introduction to an Independency or other evills upon the receipt of which Mr. PROBY resigned as he sayes his chair to Mr. BENDALL who declared himself President with a Councill Messrs. PROBY 2d: WYCHE 3d: BOONE 4th: and almost carryed it to remove to the old Factory independent of BOMBAY and have wrote us and doe preremptory and frailly in unbecomeing words by a second letter insist to send them up said Ship and hir Stock with what else in BOMBAY to be sold at SURATT and provide goods for Europe and doubted not but could procure a good frieght for said ship to PERSIA without otherwise mentioning what Sum̃es or Sum̃e, then that a DUTCH Ship was there loading at 23 Rups. n^t each bale and another belonging to the Porte for less . . . .

* * * * * * *

"25. Sufficient Stone is prepared to Cover the Fort house (years past rotten) and to pave and finish the severall other darke holes under the house into Warehouses and pave the *Battee* and Corn Store roome and the fower Bastions and Curtains . . . . with what else remaines unavoidably to be built Leaving this Island and conveniencys for their Trade will not doubt there being forwarded by the new Generall asserted from SURATT will be apointed by next Ships or what other Tytle the Managers pleases probably more to Sattisfaction then what my labours has either done or am capable to direct under the managers past and present

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vexatious discouragements. Since I came to India besides the great ease it may give to Such who are angry at my Stay in this Begerly ruined but fertill Island where I have not yet received one penny Sallary or had or will have under my charge 6d: in treasure or goods belonging to the United Trade during my stay as you may please to read in our Consultations from the first day I arrived in BOMBAY till this day because with God's assistance I will keep myselfe clear in every matter that may be possible in Mans power to prove against mee."

In the next letter of the Old Company below, they intimate to poor Sir John that his adversary had been removed, but that Mr. Aislabie (Deputy Governor at Bombay) had been appointed General in his place, as unfortunately Sir John, being a captive, could not take up that position! Cold comfort for Sir John, accompanied, too, with an insinuation that he might have got his liberty, if he had not stood so much on the punctilios of release!

A passage in a letter of Governor Pitt's shows how that shrewd personage regarded Sir Nicholas Waite (O.C. 8460):

"If your selves did hear what Character in this place there is given of BOMBAY, and the Person that is att the head of your Affairs there, you won'd not blame his (Mr. Brabourne's) Refusal,[1] for I have hearde severall say that they had rather be a private Centenell in FORT ST. GEORGE then to serve as Second under SR. NICHOLAS; and if itt be true, what all say that come thence, I can make no other judgment (I wish I may be mistaken) then that he'll ruine all, and yett I hear he's the New Companys Saint, and such may they always have . . . ." (*Governor* PITT *to the Old Company*, Sept. 19, 1706.)

The Court of the Old Company to Sir JOHN GAYER, 20th April 1708:

"Wee have at last by Our Managers application prevailed to have S[r] NICHOLAS WAITE displaced, and the Council at BOMBAY to be settled, vizt. Mr. AISLABIE, Generall . . . . By this removall of S[r] NICHOLAS and new establishment of the Council we have good reason to believe that the former animositys will be removed and a new Scene open for the generall benefit of the United Trade, and that they will now pursue heartily the Managers directions by the *Aurungzeeb* by contributing their utmost for your liberty.

"It has been a great unhappyness that you have been all this while at SURATT, and we feel the misfortune of your absence from BOMBAY. Several persons of all sorts that have come from SURATT, such as wish you well among others, have assured us that it was no difficult matter for you to have got away to BOMBAY, especially at the Expence of a *Piscash*, so as you had gon Privately, and not with Drums beating and Colours flying, We know not what to say to these accounts, and were it not that we can't think you ever can be in love with staying there, these assurances would have made great impressions. There is an uncertain report by way of TURKEY that all the ENGLISH had left SURAT. Would to God if were confirmed . . ."

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[1] Mr. Brabourne, whom the Old Company wished to be Deputy-Governor of BOMBAY under the United Company, writes a letter to the former (O.C., No. 8465), dated FORT ST. GEORGE, Oct. 6, 1705, giving his reasons for declining, which, in substance, are that he could not stand service under Sir Nicholas Waite.

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The Court of the Old Company to William Aislabie, Esq., (appointed) General of Bombay (same date):

"You will understand by the Generall Letters wrote you by the Court of Managers . . . . that you are appointed to be their General and that S[r] Nicholas Waite is displaced and turned out of their Service . . . . what we have more particularly at present to recommend to you is that you will zealously espouse our Interest in such matters as concern our Separate affairs and in an especiall manner . . . . relating to the getting S[r] John Gayer and our people at Suratt their perfect liberty . . . . and that you communicate to as many of the Councill at Bombay as were originally in our Service our desires that they follow S[r] John Gayers Orders in all such matters as concern our remaining Estate . . . . for we have a great dependance on his fidelity and experience, and let them also in a proper way know our desires before mentioned touching S[r] John's realease, wherein, if they show a ready willingness and continued Zeal, they will effectually recommend themselves to us, and engage us to Continue that respect which they may plainly perceive we had for them in this new establishment of the Bombay Councill.

"Wee are willing to believe that they were before overawed or misled by S[r] Nicholas, but his power being now at End, we persuade ourselves they will by their actions evidence that they are now men of a better temper, and do truly sympathize with the Sufferings of their brethren at Suratt, and will heartily concur in all proper measures for their release from that barbarous oppression."

The following extracts from letters of the new General or President Aislabie to Surat, and to the Old Company, reveal a fact entirely overlooked by Bruce in his *Annals*, and not mentioned by Mill, or (so far as I am aware) by any other historian of British India, viz., that Waite's violence and perversity had reached such a pitch that his Council had put him in confinement, before the orders of the Court of Managers for his dismissal arrived. But of this interesting transaction (also alluded to in a letter of Mr. Samuel Annesley's with which the present extracts conclude) we have no details, as the "General Letter" to the Managers, to which Mr. Aislabie refers, in his letter to the Old Court, is not to be found in the India Office collection:

"*From* Mr. William Aislabie *to the Rt. Worshipfull* Wm. Proby, Esqre, *and the rest of the Councell of* India In Suratt.[1]

(Dated at end) "Bombay Castle ye 4th Jany. 1708-9.

"Gent[s], This serves to Enclose Copy of a letter wrote me by the Court of Directors for the separate affairs of the English Company . . . . . . which when you have Perused desire you will give me the true State of their affairs in Suratt with your opinions, I being at present wholly a stranger thereto and by reason of S[r] Nicholas Confinement and his Papers under Seal cannot as yett have account thereof from him. I likewise desire your opinions concerning S[r] Nicholas Waite; he has requested by those Gentlemen whom I sent ouer to him with his Letters from Europe to be released and leave to go home on the *Aurengzeb*. Your answer I desire as soon as possible."

[1] O.C. 8551.

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Also AISLABIE writes to the Old Company, 5th Jany. 1708-9 :[1]

"I am not unsensible that your Honours Interest has greatly suffered by the Male Administration of Sr NICHOLAS WAITE, whose untoward actions in the management of the United Affaires drove me to do what I have done for the releif of their Interest, particularly mentioned in Generall Letter and papers to the Court of Managers by this Conveyance; which had it been omitted till receipt of their advices by Ship *Tavistock* very much question whether should have bin able or in being to have put their Honours orders in Execution."[2]

Governor Pitt also says, in a letter to Mr. R. Nightingale, dated Febry. 4, 1708-9 (B.M. Add. MSS. 22,849, No. 77):

"You'l hear that the Council of BOMBAY confin'd S^r: NICHOLAS before the arrivall of the Ships, an account of which I had from the FRENCH, and a Translate thereof comes inclos'd." ....

"*The Court of Directors for the Separate Affairs of the* ENGLISH *Company, &c. to* Sir NICHOLAS-WAITE, *dated* 20th April 1708:

* * * * * * *

"We cannot omitt to acquaint you that the Court of Mannagers have thought fitt to discontinue you from being their Generall of Bombay, as wee Suppose you will bee informed from them by these Ships, You have hitherto preserved our Affaires from being intermixed or embroyled by those of the Old Company, for which good Seruice we thank you."

A further passage from President Aislabie's letter to the Old Court, from which the penultimate extract is taken:

"Your Honours may thereby Judge of my Zeal to serve you and my readiness to redeem Sr JOHN GAYER from Captivity is apparent by my advices to SURATT and Letter to the Governor declareing no business could go on till he had his release, Copies of which is Inclosed to the Court of Managers, Sr. JOHN GAYER writes me he had favourable Answers from the Governor, and promises of his liberty, but by a Letter received from him Yesterday find in some measure these hopes are vanisht. I have likewise wrote him to desire his advice what might be the most proper methods to be vsed for his redemption, which shall have due regard to. Copie of his letter to me and mine to him on that purpose is enclosed.

"When those apointed of the Councill, and originally in your Honours Service, repairs hither, shall communicate to them your Honours earnest desires for the relief of Sr JOHN GAYER, and doe asure your Honours nothing in my Power shall be wanting to effect it, tho' am apprehensive it will be a most difficult task, and may require positive orders for the vse of force, as well for that as the obtaining Your Honours rights there; which the Dutch have succeeded in."

I shall conclude the extracts under the heading of "Sir JOHN GAYER" with a long, but, as it seems to me, interesting letter from Mr. Samuel Annesley, an ex-President for the Old Company at Surat.

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[1] O.C. 8552.

[2] The letters by the *Tavistock* were those from the Court of the Old Company, and from the Court of Managers of the United Company, announcing the dismissal of Sir N. Waite.

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The Court-Books and Letter-Books show that Mr. Annesley had been removed from his office by their orders, dated 13th May, 1698. In these they write:

". . . . We observe the late Governour doe justly blame the President, and also the Broakers for their many and great Abuses . . . . Our late President Mr. ANNESLEY has for 2 or 3 years past, filled us with Expectation of large Returns and Particulars of Goods already bought and provided for Embarkation, but when our Ships arrived, Wee find nothing of any Vallue from him, but pretence of Obstruction from the Broakers and our Creditors, whereas we have too much reason to believe that the noise of those Obstructions, and our Debt is made much greater then it really is, and that not only the Broakers, but the President himself are our greatest Creditors, under other names, and the only Obstructors of our busyness.

"Upon the whole matter, as things have been managed . . . . we cannot believe any man would bring our Affairs into or keep us thus continuing in thick Darkness, if he had not a Design notoriously to deceive us, and did live in any practice of such Deceipt, from whence we conclude expostulating blaming repremanding &ca. as our letters have proved already ineffectuall, so they will never cure that desperate Malady our busyness lyes under at SURRATT, and Therefore we have by our Commision herewith sent you totally dismissed Mr. ANNESLEY from our Service . . . ." (*The Court to the General and Council of* INDIA, of date as above.)

And Sir John Gayer and Council wrote to the Court, from "BOMBAY CASTLE, August the 21st, 1699":[1]

"The late President ANNESLEY to this day, notwithstanding all the kindeness hath been showne him, and all the Arguments that we have been able to make use of to induce him to make up his Accounts with your Honours, hath in a Manner done nothing at all towards it; his designes as farr as we can perceive being only to Spin out time, in hopes of some Revolution that will enable him to Secure what of your Estate he hath in his hands which we fear is very considerable."

But in 1709, when the union of the Companies had been accomplished, there were still difficulties remaining as to some of the claims against the Old Company; and Sir Stephen Evance, who was Queen Anne's jeweller, and a man of influence in the City, strongly recommended the Managers of the United Company to recall Mr. Annesley to their employment, as a man who could do excellent service, from his thorough knowledge of the frauds and practices of the Banyans. In consequence, the Court of Managers, in their "general" letter to Bombay of 11th March 1708-9, write:

* * * * * * *

"And yet after all this we are sencible how difficult a service it is and that it will need all the assistance you can get, especially for evidence about the aforesaid credits and Collusions in the PARRACKS and VENWALLIDAS and other Brokers accounts, and that no one person at SURATT can give us so much light

[1] O.C. 6711.

as Mr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY, who was privy to the affairs of the Old Company at those times, and we have been assur'd by his ffriend Sr STEPHEN EVANCE that he will heartily engage for our service in this Affair. We have therefor wrote to him to come imediately down to you; if therefore he accepts the terms we have offer'd him and will engage to do us his best service We do then appoint and direct that he should sitt in Councill as Second at all times wherein there is any Consultation about the said ffrauds Debts and Oppressions, and that he have upon all occasions our Protection, and for encouragement to give all we are willing to allow you a proportion of what shall be saved to the United Company in manner ffollowing: Viz^t: ffive p. cent. thereof to Our General Mr. AISLABIE, ffive p. cent. to Mr. ANNESLEY, and two p. cent. to the rest of the Council who shall be employ'd in this affair, to be equally divided among them."

The Court also write to Mr. Annesley, under the same date, to like effect; and Sir Stephen Evance had written to him also by the same ship (the *Tankerville*). The letter of Annesley is in answer to this last. The latter part, with the date, is lost, but it must have been written at Surat early in 1710.

"Rt. Worsp^ll: Sir STEPHEN EVANCE[1]

"Yours of Mar 11th I received from the *Tankervil* att BOMBAY the 26th of last moneth, a further addition to the many favors formerly received for al which I must forever remain your Debtor beyond any possibility of retalliation.

"Nothing shal be wanting on my side to answer the expectations you have raised of me in the Court of Managers; and I doubt not to do it, if Others correspond. For 'tis not in my power, I am to assist such of their Council at Bombay, as they have appointed to transact this affair, if they are remiss in requiring al papers of account I shal want, or in summoning Persons to be examined as I direct, or they and the gentlemen here be deficient, when the charge is drawn up, to demand satisfaction either by the Government, or (if need be) a superior Power, the Court wil be disappointed, and I can do no more then declare how they came to be so.

"The PARRACKS[2] (with whom chiefly we have to doe) are the Heads of the GENTUES in this place; and the whole body of them moves at their back in any despute with the oppressive Officers. They are wealthy, subtle, and malicious, as wel as powerfull; can bribe, divide, menace, and by il arts remove those that oppose them, being above shame and uncontrouled by Conscience. They wil suppress or forge accounts, and back it with Witnesses or stifle evidence, and know how to time any such artifices as their occasion serves; and when hardly prest wil fling a part overboard to save the Remainder. And what cant such Persons do, so qualyfied, with an arbitrary Government, where mony answers al things.

"In the latter end of the year 1698, before the Company dismist me their service, I began with two or three of the vp-Countrey Brokers under the Factory of BROACH; and having got their Books soon discovered frauds in them to the amount of 1500 and od rupees. But troubles intervening from the Pirates, and the 1st of February following being laid aside, I did not proceed, but returned their

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1 O.C. 8556.

2 The Páraks were an eminent family of *banyas* in Surat and Diu. They are often mentioned in the Company's correspondence with Surat.

Accounts, and gave in what I had done to the Book-keeper, who I presume has charged those Brokers with it. I then saw it necessary to desire Sr JOHN GAYER to get a power from Court over the principal Brokers to cal 'em to an account, who began to be alarm'd at my prying into their Inferiors actions. But what was done in that matter it never concerned me to enquire. Or had I been so curious as to do it, I should have been thought impertinent, and perhaps have been told so. Nay now (if I mistake not) 'tis believed I intrude into what does not belong to me, and reflect on those in place, as if they wanted skil or honesty to manage their Trust. I suppose S^t^ JNO. GAYER knew as soon as I what the Court wrote me for presently after I was askt by a chief Person here, if I thought S^r^ JNO. GAYER would suffer the Brokers to wrong the Company, or that they could do it without his knowledge. I could easily have answered his question, but thought it better to wave it. 'Tis wel if this goes no farther then censure, and none in power looks on his reputation concerned to countermine, or (which is the same thing) not to back my Designs; for then they must fall, which would be a folly pernicious to my self, and of no service to the Company vainly to row against the Wind and so strong a Currant. I beleive you received not my packet by the *Albemarle*, to have laid before the Committee of Correspondence (with my other letters) which I wrote Sr CESAR CHILD May 3d. 1707 vizt:

"'I almost despair of securing you in your account with the PARRACKS, for I hear nothing can be done in it but by compulsion. They'l be unwilling to part with so great a sum as long as they can keep it, and to force them wil stir up their rage against a private person; and they have power to back their resentments, and wickedness to stick at nothing instrumental to their Revenge,' &ca.

"I think, S^r^, I formerly acquainted you with an instance in my Self of the horrid injustice of these People. The *Hurcorra* (who is 3d officer of the Town) thought me too saving of the Companys money when I was Cheif, having been less liberal to him then the DUTCH, and therefore owed me a grudge; and took occasion to pay it, when I was displaced, boldly demanding 2000 rups. And because I would not give it him, accused me to the King of piracy; and procured his order to confine me without any examination or Judicious process. An Inventry was taken of what they could find in my house, as in cases of confiscation, and a guard clapt on me for 22 months, When the Villain dyed in disgrace at Court, and I have not been since molested; though those orders are stil in the Registry, and must be took out ere I can leave this Place.

"This I presume shews what I may expect in my present circumstances, if I exasperate the Brokers. They might not openly handle me so, but put others upon it, or be secreetly treacherous as those of the Fraternity lately were to a DUTCH Gentleman, that came from BATAVIA by express orders from Holland as a Supravisor; whose honest inquisitiveness was charm-proof against their bribes, but stil'd with a dose of Poison; and I think those Brokers have gone on from that time undisturbed.

"I shal mention but one example more. In —93 I was acquainted with a DUTCH Fiscal, Min Heir HELSDINGEN, who had at home a good Estate, but perswaded by that Company to these parts with as ful recommendation to their Chief and Council (that he might inspect their affairs) as could be drawn up; and with the same to the General and Council of BATAVIA, but was forced after an uneasy life for three or four years (and not without danger) to return as he came without effecting anything. He desired me to secure his papers and send them to ENGLAND, which I did in the *Benjamin* in —96.

"I wish my overland letter of April 1st in answer to yours of Feb. 18 and April

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20, 1708 seasonably arrived, and you have showed it when you thought fit to the Committee; wherein I wrote:

"'I thank you for your generous proffer to be my security. *If the Company employ me* (as you proposed) *I must not be limited or hamperd by a Superior.*'

"In said letter I answer an objection a gentleman in the Committee made to you against my readmission (which is not improper to mention here), 'that I had brought the Company into a great deal of trouble about the Pirates.' He reflected (I suppose) on the Security paper I gave in with approval of al the Companys Servants, after we had seen the DUTCH and FRENCH Chiefs had consented to the same. And was forced from us by the Governor's Guards in encompassing the Factory and hindering us several days from provisions &ca. I never did hear the DUTCH or FRENCH were blamed by their Principals for doing it; nay I may affirm the Company was sensible of the Compulsion, and so Just as to write to their Cheif and Council *that what I had done was with a manifest hasard of my life.* The way to have settled this affair was to have complained to the King of his officers oppression; which I should have proposed had I not been discharged the Companys Service &ca.

"In this affair I know my back-friend, S^r^ JNO. GAYER, taxt Mr. COLT and Council with the same in Febry. 9⅘; and they wrote him if he had been here he must have done as they did, which tho' he denyed (as it could not be otherwise expected), yet he showed not that resolution two years afterwards, when the MOORES brought him from SWALLEY from under the *Tavistock's* guns. But why was not some Remonstrance remitted to Court to prevent any il consequence of that Paper? as the French sent up one of their Peoples and made theirs invalid. I never heard S^r^ JNO. GAYER was blamed for this omission, or P^t^ COLTS consent (as aforesaid) prejudiced him in the Company's Esteem, so hope I may meet with as favourable a Resentment.

"Pardon me S^r^ if I a little digress on this occasion. The real cause (as you know, of my Dismission) was, in Sr JOSIA CHILD'S expression, that I was not kind enough to the Armenians; which I could not have been and faithful to him and the Company. About ten days before he displaced me he recommended Mr. PHIPS in my Particular direction and was pleased to write me he knew not where to place him better. Al other matters laid to my charge I answered in a letter to the Committee Mar. 10—98-9, which my Cos. DUNTON at my great expence carried to you and Mr. CHAMBRELAN; for the Governor would not let me go, thinking my dismission a Trick to invalidate the Security-paper, nor would S. JNO. GAYER (as he wrote me) endeavor my liberty til the accounts to that time was brought up. I never had a good account from my Cosen what entertainment that letter met with (therefore enclose an abstract of it) yet presume with your kind assistance 'twas effectual. For in 1701 I understood from you the Company would reinstate me, and in 7ber of that year Sr N. WAITE told me, from what Mr. BAKER had wrote him, 'twas done. But in Xber following another letter from you informed me the Companys were uniting, and were at a loss what to do with the Servants they had; and Sr N. WAITE had wrote them I was so much engaged for the old Companys debts that he dared not entertain me his 2d. yet they chose Mr. PROBY in my room and Successor. Time since has removed both these Remoras; for I have heard Mr. AISLABIE had desired leave to go home, and Mr. PROBY told me his Unkle had invited him (as Heir to his great Estate) and by next year he'd disengage himself to wait on him. I need not write of Mr. BENDAL, as insignificant as if out of being; always others have

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done his business for him. The charity that put him in may continue him where he is, for out of the Company's Service he may starve. And as for Sr N. WAITE's Scarecrow of the Companys Debts, 'tis an apparent Imposition, not to term it worse.

"I write not this, S^r^, from any ambition. I am contented with the smal matter I have; and desire my former station onely as I would clear my Innocency in the opinion of those who know not why I was displaced, and that I may confute any asperstion in the Registry to the prejudice of my memory in the time to come. By this means I could recover a few debts from these Countrey People, make some persons sensible of their ingratitude, and others of calumny; and am certain to do the Company an acceptable piece of Service and to pay you some part of my obligations in setling Sr CESAR's account with the PARRACKS. Without it I fear (with great regrett) I must rely on the Company's and your goodness to accept of the wil for the deed.

"I am now in the 51st year of my age, and begin to desire a Writt of Ease, after the fatigues of near 32 years in this Countrey, 21 of which has been in the Company's Service, and 11 since my Dismission. From April 20: 1687 to Xber 26th, —89, I was imprison'd to the Town; from that time to May 3th, 1690 straiter confined to the Factory in Irons; in —91 clapt up again; from 7ber ii, —95 to June 26—96, the 2d. time fetter'd; and then shut up in my house by a guard from April 14, 1702, to Jan. 23, 1703-4. Near 23 years in my best circumstances I have been a Prisoner at large; and can hope for no better unless the Company redeem me, or I myself buy my freedom; which I could not doe til of late that the MOORS slighted the convoy and security papers, I signed. Such a continued succession of troubles in an unhealthful climatt makes me rather desirous of a quiet Retreat in my native Countrey, then to continue any longer in INDIA (then is necessary as aforesaid to serve the Company and you) in a banishment from the few Relations and Friends I have left. (I have not onely lost my Children, but al hopes of having more; and to spend the Remains of my Life in raising a little money I can never here enjoy, and know not who wil possess, I think is folly. Therefore next to my desire of Reinstatement, a liberty to leave it would be welcome, as soon as I can with honour, and no inconvenience to my Master's affairs; for so I hope I may cal them, since they have regard to employ me, and you are pleased to write, 'They are very wel assured that no Man in these Parts can serve them so wel,' &c.

"Such an Encomium I cant pretend to; but may affirm without vanity that if they place me independant at the head of their affairs in SURATT (the scene of action) I hope not onely to procure the Old Company considerable (if not plenary) satisfaction, but the New likewise (and both since their Union) for al frauds, &ca. has been imposed on them. In such case (if not too late) I desire Sir N. WAITE may not be discharged by the Company, for 'tis probable he managed his Trust as much to their loss as was Sr. WM. NORRICE's Embassy. 'Tis strange Mr. AISLABIE (or rather the Captain of the Guards) wrested the Government from Sr N. WAITE and confined him on misprision of foul crimes (as I heard) and examined not his papers to prove it, or at least sent them not to the Company. He was reported to lament his condition as lost and undone, and to beg pitty for his wife and children; which I presume might rather move Mr. AISLABIE to search into the reason of it (if not known) then pass it over in that manner. As for P^t^ HARRIS, S^r^ JNO. GAYER informed me, he expected orders from the Company about his money in their Cash; and some of it I hear they have paid to his Attourneys in ENGLAND. Of which I shal write hereafter.

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"You write, S[r], 'On receipt of any of mine that gives the Company satisfaction of any service done them, they wil prefer me to my Content,' &ca.

"That the Company have been wronged by their Brokers is indubitable; and 'tis as certain that 'twil appear by their bookes and other Merchants accounts of goods bought in the same place, and at the same time their investments have been made, and by those with whom they have bought and sold. But the point is how to get those bookes and papers that they may be compared. Then my observations wil be of use. Now S[r] pray consider, can this be done by a Private Person? You may say, assisted by a Cheif, it may . . . ."

(Caetera desunt.)

Here we must abruptly terminate our article in connection with Sir John Gayer; leaving it like the story of Cambuscan bold. Possibly, when the papers of the years succeeding 1709 are put in order we may learn what came of the respectable and unlucky man.[1] I know only that he died before 1716. For under 22nd August in that year, in the *Court Book*, Sir Matthew Deeker makes a communication on arbitration regarding settlement of accounts between the Company and Lady Gayer, Sir John's widow and executor.

GOLDSBOROUGH, Sir JOHN. This sea-captain is mentioned by Hedges at pp. 176, 177, 179; and again at p. 201.

His first mention in the records is in *Court Book*, 2nd July 1675:

"Captain John Goldsborough, being returned from India on the ship *Falcon*, This day humbly presented his service to the Company."

It appears from *Court Book* of 11th February 1673-4, that the *Falcon* was to sail for India on the 25th; so we may presume thus far to carry back our history of Captain Goldsborough, though no captain's name is then given.

We read, in *Court Book*, under 6th August 1675:

"S[r] Mathew Andrewes renewing a former proposal made by himself and others, late Owners of the *Antelope*, for building a new 3 Deck Ship for C. Goldsborough, upon the terme of encouragement given to others; And upon reading an order of the Court of 2d. of July last, whereby it was declared that the owners of the *President* and *Antelope* shall have the preference in building the two first Ships that shall be entertained to serve the Company, so as C. Hide and C. Goldsborough have the com'and of them, It is ordered that in case the said Owners shall build two new 3 Deck Ships for the service of the Company of such dimensions as the Committees for shipping shall direct, to be ready to set sail from Gravesend by the 20th November 1676, that the same shall be entertained into the Companys service in course before any other that

[1] Unfortunately the Surat Papers of these years cannot be found. Passages in Bombay Consultations, found since the text was in type, show, under May 29th and October 25th, 1711, that the factory imprisonment was then past, but throw no light on Sir John Gayer's history.

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shalbe afterwards built, in case the Company have occasion to employ them, and that they shall have for the two first voyages xx[s] per ton, extraordinary freight, as hath been given to others in the like case."

Under 8th October following, we find the dimensions of the intended ships given, viz., length by the keel 103 feet, breadth at the beam 33 feet 3 inches; depth 17 feet, and these approved by the Court.

And we find, under date 17th January 1676-7, a letter of instructions for Captain Goldsborough, commander of the *Bengal Merchant*, as the new ship was called, then about to sail on her first voyage.

Capt. Goldsborough is again commissioned for a voyage with the *Bengal Merchant*, 16th November 1683; and it is on this voyage that he and his ship are noticed by Hedges in the *Diary*, first in the Bay, and afterwards at Muscat on the voyage to the Gulf.

In Court's letter to Bengal of 9th June 1686, we read:

"By Captain GOLDSBOROUGH (in margin, '*Bengal Merchant*') lately arrived, we have the unwelcome newes of the death of our late faithfull agent Mr. JOHN BEARD."

After the death of Sir John Child, which occurred 4th February 1689-90, there was for a time no officer of the Company in the position of supreme control which he occupied; but before long, and especially in consequence of prolonged dissensions at Fort St. George between the Governor, Elihu Yale, and his Council, the Court re-established this control, nominating Capt. Goldsborough to hold it.[1] In his first commission, dated 10th February 1691-2, he is named their "Superviser-Commissary-General, and Chief-Governor", and a year later their "Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief" (see extracts following from Commissions).

Just before the date of his first commission he was knighted (8th February 1691-2). He sailed in March, and arrived at Fort St. George 23rd Nov. 1692.

Extracts from Commission to S[r] JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, Knt. (dated 10th February 1691).

". . . . We the said Governors and Company reposing especiall trust and Confidence in the fidelity Prudence Justice and Circumspection of S[r] JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH Knt. have made, constituted, and ordained, And by these Presents do make, constitute, and ordain the said S[r] JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH Our Superviser, Commissary Generall, and Chief Governour in EAST INDIA, to

---

[1] "The Court, taking into Consideration the present State of their affaires in INDIA, thought fit to resolve that a SUPERVISOR and COMMISSARY GENERAL be entertained to inspect all the Companies Forts and Factories on the Coast of SUMATRA, BENGALL, COREA, CHOROMANDELL, and the CHENGEE and MARATTA Countrey, and that Captain JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH be entertained to serve the Company in that Employment." (*Court Book*, 2nd Oct. 1691.)

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inspect and governe in chief all the Company's fforts, ffactors and ffactoryes, Officers and Soldiers on the Coast of SUMATRA, BENGALL, ORIXA, CHOROMANDELL, the CHINGEE and MARATTEE Countryes, and also all our fforts and ffactories, officers and soldiers, on the North side of INDIA as well on the coast of MALLABAR as of our ffort and Castle of BOMBAY, ffactory of SURRATT, and other places within the Presidency of SURRATT," etc., etc.

From Instructions to Sir JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, dated 29th Feb. 169½:

* * * * * * *

Bencoolen was originally his destination, but owing to present war with France the Court resolve that their 3 great ships, vizt. *Charles II*, *Sampson*, and *Berkeley Castle*, on which last Sir JOHN embarks, shall go directly for Fort St. George.

"But as soon as your ffamily is well settled at the ffort and Our affairs there will permitt it . . . . We desire you to Visit that place", etc . . . .

"3. BENGALL, while Our Agent CHARNOCK lives, is a Place that wee think will least need your Ocular Inspection, because We are aboundantly satisfyed, and have given him such ample Power and Authority that he may with or without the Advice or Consent of his Councill, place or displace any of his Councill of BENGALL, or any other of our Servants there, at his Discretion, without giving any reason for his so doing to any but our Selves, which is an Authority we have not formerly given to any Agent in BENGALL. But by long Experience for above 20 years finding Our Servants there not only grossley fraudulent, but so incurably inclin'd to faction, insomuch that as soon as We had suppressed one ffaction, immediately sprung up another among those newly preferr'd, or continued by Us in the Chief Conduct of our Affairs. And from such ffactions the Obedience due from our inferiour Servants to their Superiours hath wholly ceased, and instead thereof Idleness Vice and Profaness hath ensued to the Scandall of Our Nation.

"4. Ffor these Reasons, While we have one We can confide in there, We have resolved upon the Expedient aforesaid for ever to destroy the very roots and eeds of faction and the Evill Consequences thereof."

5. To see their order carried out that all persons who have been permitted to trade to BENGAL shall consign all their effects in part to the Company's Agent there.

6. Authorising him to dispose of the charges brought against the late President of Fort St. George, ELIHU YALE.

7. To see to the settlement and improvement of all the local revenues.

8. To unite, if possible, with the DUTCH ships from CEYLON and TEGNEPATAM, for better mutual aid against the FRENCH.

9. By his ships "to send down" all treasures that can be spared to the Agent and Council in BENGAL.

* * * * * * *

"14. . . . Keep all our servants strictly to the Performance of their severall Dutyes . . . . and if you find any unfaithfull, refractory, or immorall, expell them from our Service."

* * * * * * *

"15. . . . . If we had a Company of about 50 or 60 Cofferees to be employed in labour about your works, and to keep Guard at the Out-Gates of the black Town under English Officers, we think you might make good Use of them on

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severall Occasions, especially when it is so difficult to send out sufficient Numbers of English Soldiers. Rice and water, and a red Cap and Coat is sufficient to allow them, and if you should think of any such thing, It will be convenient to build such a Compound for them and their Wives to inhabit in as the DUTCH have at BATAVIA, and to govern them after their manner with a strict Discipline. But this matter We only recommend to your Consideration when you are upon the Place, and have well thought of it."

* * * * * * *

"21. To consult with the DUTCH Governor of ZEILON about mutual Defence against the FRENCH", etc., etc.

The Court write further :

"Of this (the enlistment or importation of MADAGASCAR Coffrees as soldiers) we have discoursed largely with our Commissary Generall Sr JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, who is now going out for MADRASS in the *Berkeley Castle*, of which his Brother-in-Law Captain SAMUELL HIDE is Commander. He is, after his stay some time at FORT ST. GEORGE, to visit our Forts and Factories on the West Coast of SUMATRA, and put all our affairs in order there, and after his return to MADRASS he is to visit your Place, SURRATT, and all our Factories upon the Coast of INDIA and MALLABAR, and from thence returne to MADRASS and remain there for our further Orders. In all places wherever he shall come he is to preside as Chief Governour and take place of all our Presidents, Agents, &ca., as Head and Chief of the English Nation, representing His Majesty and the Company, being the Chief in INDIA as aforesaid, and you and all our Servants are to observe all his Orders and directions (not repugnant to our owne) in the same manner as you ought to have done our late Generall's, altho' we have thought fitt at present to give him only the title of Commissary Generall, because his first business is motionary from one place to another, and his intended constant residence not yet fixt." (*Letter to* FORT, of 29th Feb. 169½.)

Another Commission to Sir John is dated 10th April 1693. This, which can hardly have reached him before his death, constitutes him—

"Our Captain Generall and Commander in Chief of all our Land and Sea forces . . . . throughout all the EAST INDIES, and Governour of our ffort of ST. GEORGE and all other our fforts and garrisons in the EAST INDIES aforesaid . . . . and also . . . . to be our Directore Generall of all our Mercantile affairs and ffactoryes in the said East Indies . . . . And in case of the death of the said Sr JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH (which God forbid) Wee do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint Sr JOHN GAYER Knt. to be our Governour of FFORT ST. GEORGE, Captain Generall, and Chief Directore of all our fforces and Affairs in India," etc., etc.[1]

Sir John Gayer was at the same time appointed Lieut.-General and successor to Goldsborough.

We find in the India records the fragment of a diary thus entitled :[2]

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[1] The titles of Commissary General and "Directore", are borrowed from the Dutch, at least certainly the latter (Dutch *Direktoor*, see *Hedges*, Index).

[2] O.C. 5783.

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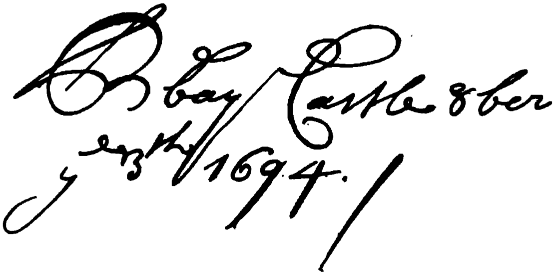
No. 1.



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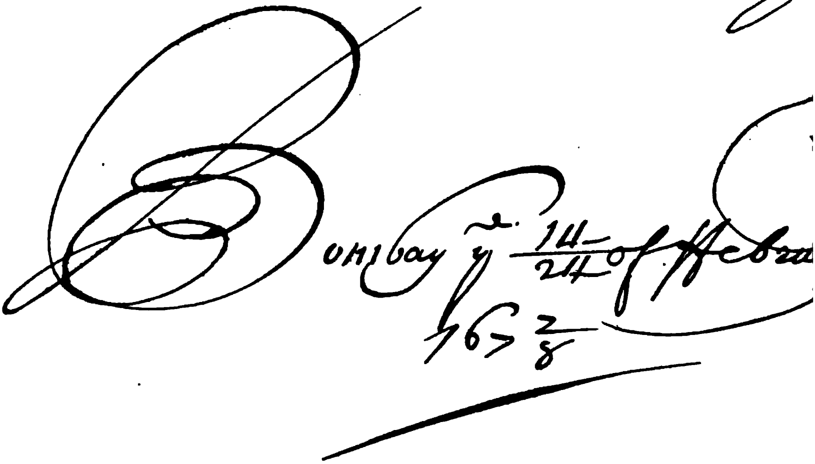

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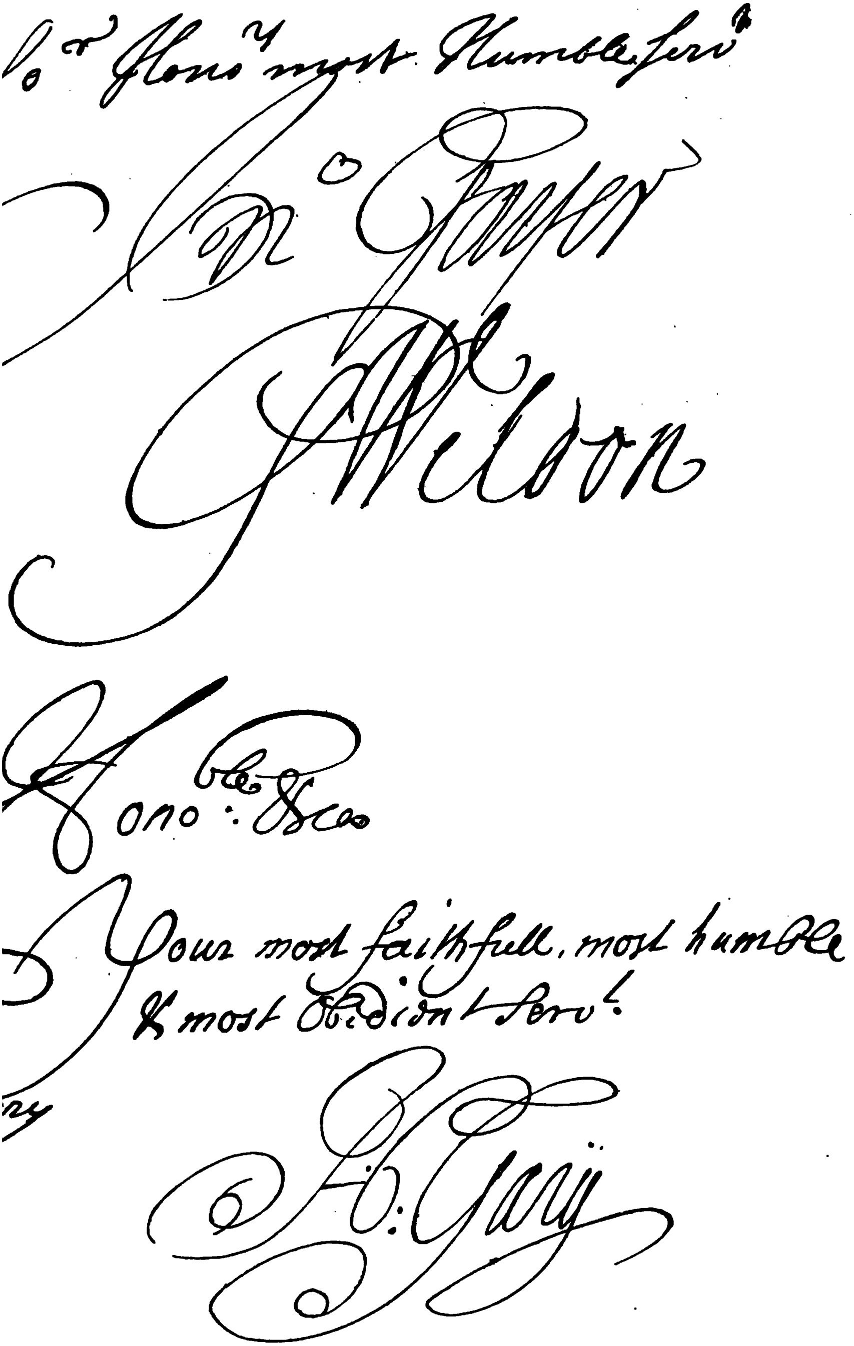
Yor Hono.r most Humble Servt.

G. Wilson

Your most faithfull, most humble
& most Obedient Servt.

"Ship Berkley Castle outward bound towards E^st India:

"*Anno Dom: 169½. A Diary Kept by* Sr JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH *Commissary Generall and Admirall of the* EAST INDIA *Fleet, now outward bound to the* EAST INDIA, Vizt. *Capt.* ROBERT DORELL in Charles the 2d., *Capt.* WM. WYLDEY *in the* Modena, *Capt.* JOHN BROMELL *in the* Sampson, *Capt.* BENJAMIN BRANGWIN *in the* Eliz^th: *and Capt.* SAM'LL HIDE *in the* Berkley Castle, *whereon I am embarqued. God Send us a Good Voyage.*"

(March 15th Sailed out of the Downs.)

* * * * * * *

"(April) 14th. Wee 3 arrived in GRAND CANARY Road, agreed on in downs for Randevos if we were seperated." (Here eight factors, not returning to their ships, were left behind.)!

* * * * * * *

(July the 19th. Anchored in the Dutch road of CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.)

(29th. Got to Sea.)

* * * * * * *

"Oct. ye 6th. To Day Saw ye ANDAMAN ISLAND in 11° or 12° of N° Lat^d. in our way to BENGALL.

"Ye 8th. To day arrived in BALLESORE Road . . . ."

* * * * * * *

"(Novr.) ye 14th. To day I recdd. an Answer from Agent CHARNOCK and Councell to mine of ye 31st last mo^th: . . . ."

(16th. Set sail. 23d. Anchored in MADRASS Road.

25th. Went ashore and received in his Quality with usual ceremony.)

During a long stay at Madras the Commissary-General seems to have been much occupied with the investigation of mutual accusations between the late Governor Elihu Yale, and those who had been his Council.

In June Sir John went down to Fort St. David, and after some stay there returned by land to Madras (11th July 1693), and on the 29th embarked for the Bay, leaving Lady Goldsborough, who had accompanied him from England, at the Fort.

Of his proceedings at Chatánatí, of the indifferent report he left behind him of the memory of Job Charnock and the character of his colleagues, we have quoted particulars on earlier pages (xci-xciii).

In the collection of his papers on this tour is a letter to the Nabob Ibrahim Khan, in which Sir John styles himself "Commissary Generall and Chief Governour of the Rt. H. ENGLISH EAST INDIA Companys Affaires in all these Eastern Parts, Sept. 6, 1693." In forwarding this letter to Mr. Eyres at Dacca, for delivery to the Nabob, Sir John says:

"S^r

"Herewith comes a Letter from me to the Nabob that is writt as if it were intended a joynt letter to him and the duan, but I desire you to gett it translated by such Scribes as knowes how to make out of it a Letter to the Nabob and another to the duan to the same effect, and to give each their due titles, and to put it in such phraises as will be most suitable to render the matter breifest to

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them; for I am sattisfied that long letters are not liked by princes, yet in our Language I could not make it shorter, and render the matter plaine.

"I have not sealed with my name as Countrey mode is, therefore I desire you to Cause one to be Cutt and seale them with it."

In a letter to Surat, dated 4th Novr., Sir John writes:

"We are Extreame Sickly here this Season, boath Natives and English, but I hope God will restore us all."

And in his last extant letter, dated two days later, and quoted below, we find a similar notice. The sickliness was unto death. The exact date of this worthy man's decease we have not found, but it was in November.

The following is the conclusion of Sir John Goldsborough's last recorded letter, addressed "To Mr. SIMON HOLCOMBE, Chiefe, &ca., factors at VIZAGAPM. for ye Affaires of ye Rt: H: E[t] India Comp[y]."

* * * * * * *

"I would have the Cheife be ready to goe for MADRASS upon my order, In order to proceed to the WEST COAST[1] when I shall send to him, that there may be noe Stay for him, for I think Capt. FREKE may call for him in a little tyme.

"This place is Extreame Sickly, the Natives being so downe that we want men to work.

"I have not writt to MADRASS because I thinck I may send thither by Sea sooner then by this conveyance. I Remaine

"Yo[r]: lov: Freind

"CHUTANUTTE 9[ber] the 6th: 1693. "J: GOLDSBOROUGH."

All his letter-books seem to me to be kept in his own careful round legible handwriting.

The Court, as usual, are brief in their *éloge:*

"In yours of the 19th January 169¾ overland we find nothing to answer more than to bewail the death of Our late worthy Generall Sr. JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, who was a Right honest able man." (*To* FORT ST. GEORGE, 6 March 1694-5.)

GRANTHAM, Sir THOMAS. The earliest notice I can find of this sea captain is in *Court Book* under 29th March 1682:[2]

"Capt. Tho[mas] Grantham was now admitted into the freedom of the Company, and took his oath."

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[1] *I.e.*, of Sumatra.

[2] In *Notes and Queries*, S. IV, vol. vi, p. 468, there is a query regarding the identity or history of Sir Thomas Grantham, which has never yet met with a reply. The present article should largely supply the deficiency. The notices of his earlier history which follow are derived from a grant of arms on his petition, which is to be found in B. M. Add. MSS. No. 26,516, ff. 72 *seqq.* This is dated 27th July 1711, and is issued by Sir HENRY ST. GEORGE, Garter, and JOHN VANBRUGH, Esq., Clarencieux.

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His name is not to be found in Courthope's printed List of Knights; and he is called *Captain* Grantham in the records until that of 18th July 1683; but, as we shall see, he claims to have been knighted by King Charles at Deptford, 8th July 1682-3.

The following particulars of his early history have been obtained since the present article was first put in type.

Sir Thomas was the son of Mr. THOMAS GRANTHAM OF KESSITER, *alias* BURNCESTER in OXFORDSHIRE, who lost his life on the King's side during the siege of Oxford in 1645. The father of this gentleman was RICHARD GRANTHAM, claiming descent from the ancient family of that name in LINCOLNSHIRE.

THOMAS GRANTHAM (the younger) was appointed by a commission from Sir WILLIAM BERKELEY, Governor and Captain-General of VIRGINIA, dated 20th April 1673, admiral of a fleet of twenty-five sail of merchantmen bound for ENGLAND, during the war with HOLLAND, and convoyed them safely. Returning to VIRGINIA (1676) in command of the *Concord*, vessel of 500 tons, carrying thirty-two guns and forty to fifty men, he found:

"... the Country is in open Rebellion, Fomented by Mr. NATHANIEL BACON and other Turbulent Spirits, who had taken Arms, and not only forced the Governor Sr WILLIAM BERKELEY aforemention'd, with most of the Council and Chief Inhabitants to fly to a Place call'd ACORNAC, on the north side of CAPE HENRY,[1] but in Contempt of His Majesty's Authority burn'd the House where the Public Assembly and Court of Justice are held at JAMES CITY. He, the said Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM, in pursuance of his Duty, approv'd himself to be a Man worthy of Singular Esteem for his very prudent Conduct. Having by means of a Personal Acquaintance formerly between him and Some of the Principall officers among the Rebells, at the utmost hazard of his Life, with exceeding great Honor and Fidelity *so successfully Transacted Matters as partly by Persuasion and partly by Compulsion and Stratagem to reduce that Colony to their just Allegiance, and entirely resettle the Government on its former Basis*[2]; for which Extraordinary service His Sacred Majesty King CHARLES the Second most Graciously bestowed on him at his return to England a Noble Donative. In which Ship (the *Concord*) sailing again for VIRGINIA, he was, 25th October 1678, about 120 Leagues from the LANDS END, attacked by CANARY, a Spanish Renegado and Admirall of the King of ARGIERS, in a New Frigot of 48 guns called the *Rose*, carrying upwards of 600

[1] Accomac, on peninsula about seventy miles north of Cape Henry (?)

[2] These words so exactly describe the action taken some years later by Sir Thomas Grantham in reducing Bombay, that we cannot but credit him with being a natural master in diplomacy. It is a pity, however, that we seem almost constrained to ascribe the story of his exploits thus recited by the Heralds' Office to the suggestion of a narrative for which he (or his family) was the sole authority. And I am sorry to say that some other passages in the recital, as I shall have to notice, are inconsistent with the more direct records.

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men, and defended himself with such undaunted Courage and Bravery that (altho' he had only 22 Guns and 80 men, including the Passengers) after Two or Three Hours Sharp Dispute, having been Thrice boarded by the Barbarians, who, Enraged because they could not get the Mastery, Forcd him on the Quarter, and the Mizenyard being Shot down, fired the Sail, which burnt very vehemently, and immediately set all the after part of the Ship on Fire, yet He still continued the Fight, keeping the Round house and the Cuddy till Obliged by the Heat to Retire (all that accompanied Him being either Killed or Wounded), and then getting down into the Great Cabbin and Steerage, sallied out with those who were there, resolving rather to perish in the flames than yeild. But in the Interim the TURKS Foresail hanging in the Brails over the *Concords* Pope, and taking Fire, he would fain have got off, which the said Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM endeavour'd to prevent by feching down with small shot as many as ran up to cut him clear, until his sails, masts, shrouds and yards were all in a Blaze; when cutting the Enemy loose, presently their Mast to the Deck went by the board with many men on its Top and his Bloody Flag. Severall of the crew betaking themselves to there Boats however, at last both Sides overcoming the Fire, and there being little or no Wind, Admiral CANARY, with the help of his Oars rowed till he was out of Shot, otherwise possibly many Christian Slaves might have been released, but having Lost abundance of his Men, and the next morning, it proving a small Gale, he stood away, leaving Sr. THOMAS to pursue his Course; Whose Sidnal (*sic*) Behaviour in this desperate Engagement first gained him the highest Reputation and Applause, in Somuch that his Said Majesty out of a Princely Regard to such Transcendent Valour, gave him a Gold-Chain and Medal of great Value, and afterwards a Distinguishing Testimony of his haveing given such Proofs of his Abilities, Courage and Loyalty upon the several Occasions which Deserved to receive all fitting Encouragement, was pleas'd as a mark of his Royal Favour to him by Special Mandate under the Signet and Sign Manual (3rd March 168½) to recommend him in a most particular Manner to the Governor and Company of Marchants trading to the EAST INDIES, that he and the Ship which he intended to build might be entertain'd by them, which Ship being built accordingly, Burthen 816 Tun, carying 64 guns and 300 men, the Said King and his Royall Highness the Duke of YORK, Lord High Admirall, &c., attended by divers of the Nobility, did him the Honor to be present at the Launching thereof, when his Majesty named her the CHARLES THE SECOND, and as a further acknowledgment of the Said Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM's eminent deserts Knighted him (on board the said Ship) at Deptford, 8th Feby. 168¾, after which he obtain'd the East India Companys Commission, Dated 27th July 1683." . . .

The Commission, as I find it in the Letter-books of the Company, is dated a week earlier, and runs according to the extracts given further on, with which what is stated in the Heralds' Office recital agrees.

From *Court Book*, 29th Nov. 1682:

"It is ordered that Sir JEREMY SAMBROOKE and Mr. DAVALL be desired to examen on what termes Capt. GRANTHAM and his friends built his new Ship; and whether the encouragement of 20*s*. per ton was promised to be given for the first two voyages, and to report the same."

From *Do*., 15th Feby. 1682-3:

"Resolved that 20*s*. a ton for the first two voyages be allowed to the Owners

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of the new Ship built for Capt. GRANTHAM, as hath heretofore been given to other Ships for their encouragement."

From *Do.*, 15th June 1683:

"Upon consideration had of the desire of the Owners and Commander of the Ship called *Charles the Second*, It is ordered that in case at the time of the departure of that Ship from her last lading port in INDIA, peace be continued between the two Companies,[1] the said Commander is permitted to sell or dispose of 14 Demiculverin with their carriages in INDIA, which he now carries out at the desire of the Company over and above the usual complement of Guns made use of on the like voyages in the Company's service," etc., etc.

The first destination of Sir T. Grantham and his ship was to the Persian Gulf, to try to enforce the Company's claims against Persia, for the half revenue of the customs of Gombroon, which had been assigned to them by Shah Abbás for their aid in the capture of Ormus.

But in the meantime, as we should explain, in August 1682 the Dutch in Java had taken part with the son of the King of Bantam in a rebellion against the latter, driving him from Bantam and other sea-ports. The young King had taken possession of the English Company's buildings there, causing great loss to them of property, prestige, and commercial position. This led King Charles and the Company together to determine at first on the dispatch of an armament to Bantam to restore the King and recover the English position.

Extract from "Commission and Instructions to Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM, Knt., Comr: of the Ship *Charles the Second*," dated July 20, 1683:

. . . "Now wee the said Governor and Company having an undoubted right by ancient stipulation with the King of PERSIA that wee shall have for ever half the Customes of his Port of GOMBROONE; And that Our Agent shall have Session in his Divan or Councill, and that an Officer of Ours shall allways be permitted to sitt in his Bundar or Custome House to collect halfe the Customes of his said Port of GOMBROONE, which privilidge was stipulated and granted to Our Company formerly, in Consideration of the English Blood and Treasure spent in assisting his Predecessors, Kings of PERSIA, in taking the Island ORMUS from the PORTUGUEZ, which in those times depriv'd his Empire of all Trade.

"And whereas the said King of PERSIA or his Ministers have for many years past depriv'd Us of Our Ancient Privilidges before recited, and have put off Our Agents with the Payment only of One Thousand Tomands yearly instead of 40,000 Tomands which Our Moiety of the Customs of GOMBROONE do amount unto, Upon which a Debt of 150 Thousand Tomands hath accrued to Us, which wee have often without Effect demanded of him the said King and his Ministers.

* * * * * * *

"But because the End of all Warr is Peace, we would have you . . . . give notice to the King of PERSIA Governor at GOMBROONE, That if he will pay you down 50,000 Tomands presently you have power to discharge the King of

[1] *Viz.*, English and Dutch.

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PERSIA of all arrears of Customes, and to restore prize, the Governor engaging to pay yearly to the Company 10,000 Tomands for this share of Custome."

This was the original object of his commission. But present circumstances rendered it necessary that he should go first to St. Helena, to make over soldiers and other matters, and then sail to an appointed rendezvous in the Straits of Sunda, where he would meet other ships. If Sir John Wettwang was present, Grantham was to be Vice-Admiral, and if Sir John was not present, Admiral.[1]

After Grantham had sailed (as it would seem) an arrangement for the restoration of the old King of Bantam was come to between the Dutch and the English at home, and hence under 9th October 1683 there is a letter, from a Secret Committee, sent to catch Grantham at St. Helena with orders to go straight to Persia, as in the first part of the original commission. This missed him, however, and he went on to the Straits of Sunda, expecting to meet, at the rendezvous there, Sir John Wettwang's squadron, which again, in consequence of the arrangement just mentioned, was not dispatched.

From *Court Book*, 3rd August 1683:

"Ordered that Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM have liberty to Ship out for the use of him Selfe and Owners 2600£. and also 600£. for the Ships Expence, freight free."

From *Do.*, 19th Decr. 1683:

"The draughts of two Commissions to be granted by the Company were now read, the one for appointing the Agent GYFFORD, President of the Coast CHORMANDEL and BAY of BENGALL, and constituting a new Agent and Council of the BAY; the other to Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM for seizing of all Ships and Vessells belonging to his Majesties Subjects trading, contrary to their Charter and his Majesties Royal proclamation, in the EAST INDIES, were this day twice read," etc.

From Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM, *apparently to the Governor of the East India Company:*[2]

"August 23rd 1684 (from Muskatt).

"Honoured Sr:

"This is to give you an account that the 10th day of May I arrived in the Straits of SUNDA, and on the 12th I landed with a considerable party of men upon HIPPIN'S ISLAND[3] which I took possession of in his Majesties name and for your use, and called it CAROLUS SECUNDUS, and pitched his Majesties flag there, which I maintained till by your Order I was diverted from it, a brave Island, and

---

[1] See another Commission regarding the proceeding to be followed in Java, dated 1st Aug. 1683.

[2] O.C. 5186.

[3] *Hippin's*, called, in modern charts, *Prince's* Island, lies near the southern entrance of the Straits of Sunda, some twenty miles from Krakatoa, of recent memorable eruption. In last century it was much frequented by Indiamen, for water, etc.

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good water all round it, I cleared Some ground and built a Tent for the Security of my men, and on Saturday the 7th I was making provision to sayll for POYNT ANN, according to your orders, to take in your Factors. That afternoon I came to an anchor off of JAVA HEAD, the *Caesar*, Capt. ANDREWS Comand^{r}, who seeing our Ship sent his mate on board me, to give me an account that Captain UDBERT in the *China Merchant* was on the Coast with Orders to divert me from that place; and that night she arrived in the Streights, and the next day came in sight of me, off of PULLAMBARE Poynt, sent the Orders on board me, which I was sorrey to have, but readie to Submit to. Wanting arac and rice, and other necessary provisions to refresh my men with, I proceeded to BATAVIA, where I stayed 14 dayes, and then returned to the Island CAROLUS SECUNDUS, to take off those men I left there, with wood and water for my further procedeings. On Sunday the 13th of June I took my departure from JAVA HEAD towards the Gulph of PERSIA, where (I praise God) I arrived, in MUSKAT ROAD, August the 22th (*sic*) to recruite my water, which I shall do . . . . At my arrivall here I found the *Speedwell*, Capt. LIST's Ship, an Interloper who had been ffraighted from SURAT (as they say) by PETIT and BOURCHIER for Mocha, but had lost their passage, and bore away for this place where they have been foure months. The Command^{r}: dyed here about a month agoe, her Ladeing is neare halfe a shore at this place, and they laid her ashore to repaire her bottome, and as the Seamen declare, her Boughs are ready to drop out. There is but Twenty men left of her Companie, and I find them all to be masters. They say they will take in the rest of the goods and Sayle for SURAT, and deliver them to the ffraighters, but when, or ever, God knowes. It is my opinion, could they meet with a ready money Chapman for what is left, they would accept him. As hopefull a voyage as the Interlopers can now expect.

"I am credibly informed there was Five considerable DUTCH Ships in this harbour about foure months since, well gunn'd and mann'd, with Scaling Ladders and other provisions for War, one CASEMBRODE Admirall, who formerly was Director at GOMBROONE, and Sayled from hence to that place, and immediately tooke off all their ffactors and goods aboard them, and Since have met with eight considerable Juncks belonging to those parts which were laden from SURAT and other parts of INDIA which they seiz'd on and Keept. There demaunds are on the King for abuses received on the Raw Silke and Customes. At their arrivall there they sent their demaunds to the King and he returned them an answer, but not to their Satisfaction. They sent the Second tyme but had received noe answer, upon which they have falne upon Some of his ffortifications, taken three fforts and declared open War with him.

"I am afraid I shall be too late at that place to doe you service at this juncture, though I am well fitted for it and (God be thanked) have a healthfull Company. I will loose noe oppertunity, till I advise with your Agent who I heare is well and at GOMBROONE. If noething can be done I will immediately Sayle for BOMBAY, when I will endeavour to serve you, but shall be glad to see all things Settled, and Kigwin hanged. I have seene this day such Letters, under Kigwin's own hand, which startles me, but by noe meanes could prevaile to have a Copy of them. It is my opinion by what I read in them that PETIT and BOURCHIER have been great encouragers of KIGWIN in that designe of Rebellion, which I should be glad to see proved.[1]

* * * * * * *

[1] Referring to the mutiny at Bombay, of which hereafter.

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"I shall not enlarge concerning BANTAM and BATAVIA, but had your fleet come as you designed, by the helpe of God Almighty they had been both yours, for never will there be the like oppertunity, for the distractions were mighty in both places, they sent out all the force they could make to meete me, which was eleaven sayle and Six of them not halfe mann'd, which we met with, the day before we put into BATAVIA, I run in among them, and as neare the Admirall as I could, I brought too, upon which he sent his Captain on board me to know what news out of EUROPE. I told him there was Peace betwixt ENGLAND and HOLLAND, and both the Companies, which they were very doubtfull of, and said they heard we had a ffleete in the STREIGHTS of SUNDA. I answered him if they would not believe me they might goe see, for I was bound for BATAVIA. Upon his Capt's. returne aboard, the Admirall sent me a handsome Present of Refreshments, then I saluted him with eleaven guns, which he returned with Seventeene. The next morning we arrived in BATAVIA Road. I immediately sent to the Generall, to let him know that I was commanded into these parts by his Majestie and the honor^ble EAST INDIA Company, and that I wanted some refreshments for my men and I might have liberty to furnish my Selfe with them, which he readily granted with all expressione of Kindnes, and gave me an invitation ashoare. But before I was ready to goe he sent his owne Barge with two of the Lords with a further invitation, and to conduct me to him. That day I waited on him ashoare, where I was received with all the kindnes and grandeur the place could afford, and continued soe untill my Departure from thence, with their great joy of the certainety of a Peace betwixt the two Companies, an hundred tymes drinking prosperity to both.

"Haveing an oppertunity to converse with some ENGLISHMEN I found there, they did assure me that my comeing there had made such a broil among all the inhabitants, by pressing men, calling all their soldiers from all their Inland fforts, taking most of their great Guns from the Castle walls, and all too little to furnish out the eleaven sayle of ships, that the Inhabitants of the City were ready to mutiny and told the Generall that since he had weakened the Castle and the Towne Soe much that if the ENGLISH beate their ships and came before the Towne, they would not fight to defend it, but deliver it up to them.

"I cannot express in writing what I heard in relation to their feares, and what I found in the like to their kindnes and civility, which I received, and neither could I believe there had been such a magnificent Pallace and Citty in that part of the World.[1]

"I beg this may suffice until it please God to send me amongst you, at which time I hope to satisfy you more fully, and at large, with my assurance that I am S^r your most humble and faithful servant,

"THO: GRANTHAM."

The next letter is from the Gulf of Persia.

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[1] "The Generall and all the Grandees Shewed very much outward respect to Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM and myselfe dureing Our Stay; the Generall Himselfe often inviteing us to eate with Him, whose Entertainments were soberly Genteile." (JOHN ENGLISH to the Court, dated SWALLE MARINE, Nov. 25th, 1684.)

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Sir T. GRANTHAM (*to the Governor of the Co.*), September 10th, 1684.[1]

"ffrom aboard ship *Charles ye Second*
"in GOMBROONE ROADE.

"Right Wor :

"I wrott to you from MUSKATT more at large by a Letter dated the 23th (*sic*) of August (where I stayed three dayes) to take in fresh water which I wanted. Sept. 2 I arrived in this Roade where I saw before KISHMISH Island, in sight of this place, ffifteene Sayle of Ships, which proved to be, the Seaven of them DUTCH, who have made War with the King of PERSIA, and have taken a ffort upon the said island of about fforty guns, which is now in their possession; the other eight ships proved to belong to the Moores, which were all taken from SURAT, and the MALLABAR Coast, and were bound to this place and BUSSARA, and two more they had Sent away to their ffactory at BUSSARA.

"Since my arrivall here they have taken out of the eight Sayle all goods belonging to any of the King of PERSIA'S Subjects, and discharged the rest, which was but little. Out of the ship *Stambol*, Capt. BANTAM Commander, they tooke out eleaven hundred and thirty Bales of SURAT goods, as his chiefe mate, who was on board, informed me.

"I do not finde any likelyhood of an agreement. All forts and Castles hereabouts, and the said &c^a (?) I finde to be full of Souldiers upon this occasion, which began here foure months ago. The ships they tooke has been in their possession these three moneths at least, which has spoiled all trade in these parts.

"All your ffactors have been gon from hence to SPAHAUNE about five weekes.

"Sennor TOCKERSY, your Broaker, has put abroad on the account of the Hono^ble Company fforty-two bales of CARMANIA wool, and four sheets of Lapis Tutia.

"I findeing myselfe incapable to doe you any further service here, have taken Fraight from hence to SURAT, which may come to about ffive hundred pound, to-morrow (God willing) I intend to sayle towards SURAT.

"I doe assure you I have not lost an hour's tyme wherein I could doe you service, and though by preventing, which has happened, I hope you will accept this for the better from him who subscribes himself with all due respect to be

"Srs. Your most faithfull and obedient Servant

"THO: GRANTHAM."

It seems rather a lame account of matters, but we apprehend that the Company had given the admiral a vague and impracticable commission with regard to Persia.[2] It was on Grantham's return from this

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[1] O.C. 5194.

[2] In the recital by the Heralds' Office, quoted at the beginning of this article, after indicating his commission to the Persian Gulf, it is said of Grantham:

"All which Powers and Directions he so Happily executed as to inquire (? acquire) from the King of Persias Agents for the Company about 400 Thousand pounds in Money at to Payments (*sic*) and Full restitution of their ancient Rights, together with other advantages of Commerce."

No trace of this huge acquisition from the Persian agents has been found

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voyage to Gombroon that caused his second visit to Muskat, alluded to by Hedges (*Diary*, pp. 200-201), when the latter takes occasion to say: "This Sir Thomas Grantham is the Person on whom the Company chiefly relies for taking and destroying of Interlopers, and he has treated those he has mett of them with greater respect than any other of their Commanders."

We now come in contact with an episode of Anglo-Indian history far too interesting and complete to be dealt with now in detail; I mean the revolt from the Company's authority of the garrison of Bombay in 1683-84. We can only deal with it in connection with the important part played by Sir Thomas Grantham in bringing it to a peaceful close.

The cost of the fortifications and of the establishments at Bombay had led the Court to enforce measures of extreme retrenchment, directed especially towards the reduction of the pay and privileges of the garrison, and depreciation of the position and prospects of the officers. The Commander of the troops, consisting of two companies of English infantry and 200 *topasses*, or Indo-Portuguese soldiers, was Captain Richard Keigwin, a man of resolute character, who had been formerly Governor of St. Helena, and who had various personal causes of discontent. On the 27th December 1683, this man, assisted by other officers, seized Mr. Ward, the Deputy-Governor and brother-in-law of Mr. John Child, with such Members of Council as adhered to him, assembled the troops and militia, proclaimed the Company's authority at an end, and declared the Island to be subject only to the King. The garrison and the inhabitants of the Island elected Keigwin to be Governor, officers were appointed to the companies, and others to various posts of administration. The rebels also took possession of the Company's Ship *Return*, and of the *Hunter* frigate, which had on board 50,000 or 60,000 Rs. for the Company's investments at Karwar. Letters were written by Keigwin to King Charles and the Duke of York, alleging causes for his action, and expressing his determination to hold the Island for His Majesty till his pleasure should be known.

Keigwin is said to have conducted his usurped government as honestly and judiciously as any lawful governor.[1]

The news of this came long after Sir T. Grantham had left England. The King ordered the Court to appoint a secret committee of inquiry; and on their report His Majesty sent a mandate under his sign manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and offering a general pardon to all but the ringleaders. Mr. (soon afterwards Sir John)

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by me in the correspondence; nor has Bruce, in his *Annals*, indicated anything of the kind. And it is quite uncorroborated by (I might say, flatly inconsistent with) the Admiral's own reports at the time.

[1] See Anderson's *English in Western India*, second edition, pp. 222, 223.

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Child, the President of Surat, was named Admiral and Captain-General of the Company's forces, and Sir Thomas Grantham, Vice-Admiral; Captain Tyrrel, with H.M.'s ship *Phœnix*, was also to proceed to India, and aid in the reduction of Bombay.[1]

Sir T. Grantham, returning from the Gulf, reached Surat on 16th October 1684; and after consultation with President Child and Dr. St. John, who had recently come out as judge of an Admiralty Court, it was decided that Sir Thomas should proceed to Bombay. He left Swally 30th October, and arrived in Bombay 3rd November. I have now said enough to introduce his own story:

Extract of Letter from Sir T. GRANTHAM *to the Company*, from BOMBAY Fort, December 8th, 1684.[2]

* * * * * * *

"When the President came thither (to SWALLY)[3] . . . . he consulted with me concerning BOMBAY. I beg'd his liberty that I might sayle for that place, and that he would give me my liberty at large to what I should transact either by Hostile meanes or otherwayes; which he consented to. I sayled from SWALLY the 30th day of October, and arrived in BOMBAY Road the 3d of November. The next morning I went ashore at the common Landing place neare the ffort, where Severall Souldiers and some Officers met me. I ask'd them where Capt. KEIGWIN was; they told me his *Honour* was in the Fort, and asked me my name, which I told them. They desired me to walk into the Fort, which I did. They conducted me up Staires where Capt. KEIGWIN met me at the Staires head. By this I shall give you noe further account of my transactions, but on Munday the Tenth I signed them a Generall Pardon upon termes proposed by me; upon which I perswaded KEIGWIN and Some officers to deliver me the twelve Bags of Gold taken out of the Ship *Returne*, which they did, and I privately conveyed it on board. The next day, being Tuesday the 11th, I gott possession, but kept it but one night. The morrow following the Souldiers and Officers were all called together within the ffort, and drew up with their Armes, being about 300, besides what was at MAHIM and the other out guards, in all about 500. Capt. KEIGWIN and my Selfe reade Some Proposalls to them, but instead of complying they shut the gates on me, hiss'd and broke out with Shouting *Noe Governor but Keigwin*, and if he would not hold they would Confirme another. And had not the Providence of God Almighty prevented it, I had been basely and cowardly murder'd. For one HARWOOD, a Souldier, with a Pistol laden with a brace of Bullets, in the Crowd just by me, presented it to my backe, but one HENRY FLETCHER a Capt. of theirs, being next to me, seeing the same in the moment caught hold of it and prevented the Rogue of his designe. As soone as it was darke and the mad humor somewhat ouer, I gott out and went on board, where I stayed untill Wednesday the 19th following, but

[1] Bruce's *Annals*, 512 *seqq.*, and 523 *seqq.*; and Anderson's *Western India*, second ed., 230 *seqq.* See also A. Hamilton's *New Account*, ch. xvii.

[2] O.C. 5282.

[3] Swally (*Suálí*) was the familiar name of the roadstead and beach north of the Tapti river mouth, where ships for Surat usually anchored, and discharged or took in cargo.

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still by the fishing Boats (by night) kept correspondence with KEIGWIN and this FFLETCHER, and kept the Stone Rowleing till it fell into its right Center. In the interim the Souldiers were wrought upon by KEIGWIN and Some others who foresaw the danger more than they, to draw up Proposalls and send to me, and invited me ashore, which they did, and on the 19th I gott possession againe, and reduced them to their Obedience, without any bloodshed, and I received in gold Silver and plate about Seaven thousand pounds, all the *Returnes* money I sent on board my Ship, the remainder with the Plate, Bookes, Bills, bonds, and accounts I immediately delivered to Mr. JOHN GLADMAN one of the Councill of SURAT, an honest diligent Gentleman, who hath taken a great deale of paines and trouble in your Affaires here. And the next day I paid all the Officers and Souldiers their moneths pay and he keeps the accounts of all moneys received in and payes all accordingly. I am in possession of the ffort as Governor for his most Sacred Majestye, but for your Honours' use, which I shall faithfully performe till I see the PRESIDENT and then give up my Government. Your Honours are not much imbezel'd. I am taking an account of the same. The President sent the Judge to me by Capt. Ledger in the *Sampson*; upon which I summon'd all the officers and inhabitants to come to the Court house and from the ffort my Selfe with many other Gentlemen attended him to the Court all the way walkeing with a good Guard, and my Trumpets sounding before me; where I ordered one of the officers to reade his Commission, which done I made some short Speech to the people, and ordered the Commission to be held up to the sight of them all, and then I asked them if they did believe it to be his Majesties broad Seale and Commission, assureing them it was soe; many answered they did believe it, upon which I risse out of the Chaire, and told them in honour to his most Sacred Majesties Commission and that worthy Person the Judge, I delivered him the Chaire of Justice, and seated him in it, which God grant he may performe, then the Judge made a short speech to them, and I dismissed them for the present, inviteing all the Chiefe, both ENGLISH and PORTUGUESE to a publicke dinner, which I had ordered at the Marshall's house, neare to the ffort; where at dinner I began his Majesties health, with 21 Guns from the ffort, the Queen's with 19, the Duke of Yorke's with 17, Prince George's with 15, and the Honble Companies with 15. They all being well satisfied, and in Peace, which God grant may continue.

"The *Nathaniell* arrived here the 2d inst. sent here by the President with Mr. ENGLISH and severall others, who gives me an account that he will be here very speedily. The 6th arrived here Capt. PAXTON from SWALLY bound for ENGLAND, by whom this comes.

"I lost two of the Souldiers, one at BATAVIA, the other dyed in the GULPH of PERSIA, the rest I put on shore here, and have divided them into two Companies till the President comes and orders them otherwayes; which had he been here by this I should have sent you Copies both of the Pardon and Proposalls I have signed to, which you may expect by the next, if I bring them not my Selfe, and hope all things will be to your Honours' Satisfaction, and on Honble termes.

"I am sure the President will find things better by some thousands of pounds then he did expect. I shall not enlarge any more at present, but with all assurance, I am

"Your Honors most faithfull and most humble servant"

(No signature, but in the fine clear writing of Sir T. Grantham's usual amanuensis.)

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Sir Thomas Grantham's letter just transcribed has given an outline of the whole history of the surrender of the rebels. It terminated a most unpleasant episode, in a way which certainly at first startles by its clemency, and was, as we shall see, regarded with no cordial feeling by the President and Council at Surat. But the result entirely justified the worthy sailor in his firm but most patient and temperate handling of the difficulty; for none of the ill consequences ensued which President Child anticipated from this merciful conclusion.

I shall now give some of the documents illustrating the details of the story.

Extract of a letter from the President and Council *at* SURAT (Mr. CHILD and Mr. ZINZAN) *to the Court*, dated SWALLY MARINE, 29th Novr. 1684[1]:

"Your Ship *Charles the Second* came to us the 16th past month, a healthfull Ship's Company, lost but few men in the tearme of her voyages . . . . in the Gulph of PERSIA shee found 10 Dutch Ships, the fleete they had (sent) against the King of PERSIA, the Commodore one CASSEMBROOK. Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM went directly into GOMBROON roade; hee went ashoare, and was very kindly entertained; but had not beene there long before the Dutch sent a Ship to waite on him, and seemed concerned, but were more angry at last, Sr. THOMAS taking in Freight goods; but seeing him resolved, and that their frownes could not alter his designes, appeared very civil. The freight hee made hither was to the amount of 10,513 *abassis* in coarse goods, such as at Port, and horses from MUSCAT . . . . hee gives us an accompt that Mr. BENDALL is very well, and designes hither, with what he hath, Seeming quite a weary of Interloping . . . . " (Sir T. G.) "Sailed the 11th June last" (from Batavia) "to prosecute your Honours prudent orders in the Gulph of PERSIA, but the DUTCH having done soe much with soe greate a fleete, moved not anything, but obliged the Governour and Merchants very highly in taking in freight goods for this place. After wee had cleared him we found it necessary to send him to BOMBAY to try what hee could worke on those Rebells; Coppy of his Instructions wee now send . . . ."

From CAPT. KEIGWIN *and others, of Bombay, revolters, to* "*Sir* THOMAS GRANTHAM Knt:"[2]

"Worp^ll^ S^r^

"We haue received your Letter and have considered that no propositions is in it that may stand with our Honour and Safety, therefore desire you to give your Selfe the trouble of Coming Ashoare on Monday Morning, and then we will deliver you propositions that shall be so Reasonable that you Cannot in Honour deny, therefore in hopes of Happy and peaceable Complyance. Expecting you on Monday we subscribe

"Your Wor^p^ most humble Servts:

"RICHARD KEIGWIN
"JNO: THOBURN
"THOS: WILKINS
"DAN'LL HUGHES
"THOS: SUGAR
"SAMLL: SMITH."

"Bombay Fort,
"Novr. 8th 1684.

"Nathll: Russell.

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[1] O.C. 5270.

[2] O C. 5246.

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Indorsed by Sir T. Grantham:

"(Capt.) KIGWEN (and) Cheife Officers Letter to T. G."

"This is an answer to my Letter (. . . .) gen[1] to Capt. KIGWEN and the rest of the officers after our first debate, and no Agreeing."

The following letter, of which we give a facsimile among the plates of autographs, was written by Sir Thomas on the morning of the 11th November, when he thought all arranged. But, as we know, he was hallooing before he was out of the wood.

(To Mr. Child, President at Surat):[1]

"Deare S[r] "Novemb[r] 11° 1684.

"I hope this will be Satisfactory to your Honor to let you know that yesterday I composed the difference with those Stout Rebells of BOMBAY upon noe dishonourable termes I assure your Honour, Last night I brought on board with me twelve bags of Gold taken out of the *Returne*. I shall take the same care of the rest of the mony; upon Thursday they all march out by agreement. I am at present his Majesties Governour and must soe continue till I see your Honour, which I beg may be with all possible speed, and I will shew my Selfe to be

"S[r] Your most faithfull Deputy
and obedient servant
"THO: GRANTHAM.

"Pray S[r], give my humble Service to your Lady, Mr. ZINZAN, and the rest, not forgetting Mr. CAESAR."[2]

The following paper is indorsed by Sir T. GRANTHAM:

"Capt. KIGWENS proposalls to T. G." (O.C. 5249.)

"This was the first Agreement, but instead of a peaceable surrender the Soulders mutened and had Like to have pistold mee had it not binn prevented by Capt. HEN. FLECHER."

"*The present Governor's Propositions to* S[r] THOMAS GRANTHAM *Knight, as followeth:*

"That all Acts relateing to the late Revolution, be forever forgiven, and buried in Oblivion, and that this be Secured to him after such manner as shall be judged most bindeing under the hands of all persons in the Companies service, and shall be bound for them Selues and Successors.

"That he shall peaceably possess and enioy, all his Estate he now hath, and that all the pay he has received as Governor, being noe more then Capt: GAREY received when he was Governor for his Majestie, that it be accounted part of his owne Estate, that it be conferred upon him, and that he quietly possess it, and enioy it, as any other part of his Estate.

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1 O.C. 5250.

2 "Mr. Caesar" was doubtless Mr. John Child's son, who succeeded him in his baronetcy as Sir Caesar Child, and died 1724. (See Courthope's *Synopsis of Extinct Baronetcies.*)

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Pray S^r, give my humble service to yor Lady
Mrs Zinzan & ye rest not forgitt my m^r Cæsar

No. 3.

Your Excellencys &c^a
most obedient Servants

Pattana 7^bere ye 30th 1687

Roger Braddyll

"That Mr. JOHN PETIT is indebted unto him Six thousand and Two hundred Xerapheens, which he was to invest for England, his Ship being now left in my power and hands, I will deliver up the said Ship which is worth Twenty Six Thousand Rupees, soe that I take my debt out of the Treasury, which debt is acknowledged under Mr. PETIT's hand.

"That after these differences be composed, that he may have his Liberty to stay in India, if he please, or goe home to Europe, as he shall finde most convenient, if upon the East India Company's Ship, to be at the Company's charge as when he came from ENGLAND at the Like Convenience.

"This shall oblige me Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM, Knight, Commander of the Ship *Charles the Second*, to perform unto Capt. RICHARD KEIGWIN all the above mentioned proposalls provided he the said Capt. RICHARD KEIGWIN deliver me the possession of the Island and ffort of BOMBAY, and immediately suffer me to send on board Ship *Charles the Second* all the Silver and Gold taken out of the Ship *Returne*, formerly by him or his order, and what money was left in the Treasury upon the day of his taking possession, with all the Companies Plate, account of their debts, with all Books relateing there unto, with what Mony received in his Treasury since his tyme, with an account of his disbursements, his Majesties Charter, with all other Rights belonging to the Honble: East India Company, and command all his inferiour Officers and Souldiers at his Resignation of ye Island and ffort to me for his Majesty the King of England, and the Honble: East India Companies use, to give due obedience to me as their present Governour; if this be performed by the above mentioned Capt: RICHARD KEIGWIN, then this Obligation is to be in full force, power, and Vertue, or else to be voyd, and of none effect.

"Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of . . . ."

Letter from JOHN GLADMAN (one of the Commissaries sent to treat with the Bombay rebels) "*To the Honble:* JOHN CHILD, *gouernor of* BOMBAY *and President of* INDIA, PERSIA, &c., *ffor affaires of the hon: English East India Compa and Councell*, In SURATT."[1]

"ALDEA AMBOLINE,[2] ye 12 9br. 1684.

"Honoble: Sr and Honord Srs

"The present is to give your honor &ca. an account of the agreement made by Sr THOMS: GRANTHAM with KEIGWIN &ca. in BOMBAY. The *Returnes* mony was delivered the 10 Instant, and is now on board the Shipp *Charles the Second*. The ffort will be surrendered to-morrow upon a generall pardon being granted them by Sr. THOMS: and he Seeing the same rattefied by your Honor, Soe that at present nothing is more wanted then your honors person, Sr THOMAS being engaiged to them not to sturr out of the ffort tell your Honours arrivall to See those engaigements he lies under to them performed, which I question not but will be to your Honors &ca. Satisfaction,[3] for a par-

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1 O.C. 5252.

2 "Aldea Amboline" was probably AMBOLI, "a small village in Salsette, about 2 m. north of Andheri station on the Baroda railway, which has a Christian population of about 700, and an old well-kept Church" (*Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, xiv, p. 9). Near it are the Brahmanic Caves of Jogeshwar or Amboli.

3 There is something wanting here in the original.

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ticular relation who hath all along acted in the affaire, the *Sampson*, and *China Merchant* are both arrived, the former the 7th Instant, and the latter the 10th. The Gunpowder &ca. therein sent for ANTONIO CAMELO wrote Mr. VAUXE about, but noe boate as yett hath been sent to take them away. The other provisions for the Yatch came very seasonable, being then destitute of all.

* * * * * * *

"I have considered all ways imaginable for the most Secure Conveyance of this soe important affaire, which, should it miss your honors &ca. reception might put a stopp to all. Whereupon I could think of nothing better then for me to goe to Verseua[1] upon account Mr. NEWMAN was dead and Mr. VAUXE and all about him sickly, which might have put a Stopp to its conveyance, Soe tooke Capt. UDBARS boat, and at my arrivall went to Capt. ANTO. CAMELO, and Informed him that these things he had desired were aboard at BOMBAY, which he intends Speedily to send for . . . . . I send two pattamars that in case one should miscarry the other might arrive. ANTO. CAMELO DE ABRUE has promised to pay imediately after delivery for the Powder, Gunns, Perpetuanos, according to the prices prescribed by your Honor &ca.

"There is nothing of great import has passed between SR. THOMAS and the Rebels except high words with threats (which made them think, and very well they might) that there would be men landed upon them. Should I enlarge to particularlize proposalls, would hinder the pattamars,[2] which is of more import. God send your honor a Speedy and safe arrivall is the hearty desire of Honble. and Honn'd. Srs:

"Your Honors &ca. Devoted and most humble seruant

"JOHN GLADMAN."

From H. GARY *to Sir* T. GRANTHAM.[3]

"By my observations since you left the Shore the operation of the strong brandy is almost at its period, the Ring leaders of the Giddyheaded Rable begining to understand theyr case better than they did, and are now about sending Capt: NICCHOLLS off to you with theyr Propositions, some more discreet person having undeceived them; for by what I have learned, they thought they had not bin included in the Pardon, with those who willingly accepted of it, so that their is still hope of a generall obedient accommodation, which God of His infinit goodnes and mercy graunt, for otherwise the poore innocent Inhabitants will be in a most miserable condition. Your Prudence in the manadgement of this grand Affaire is not in the least doubted by all the good People of this Island, knoweing

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[1] VERSOVA, a small port on the west coast of Salsette, twelve miles north of Bombay.

[2] Couriers.

[3] O.C. 5256. "This Capt. *Gary*", says Dr. Fryer, "is he that was the last Governor for the King on the Island *Bombaim:* He is a Person of a Mercurial Brain, a better Merchant than Soldier, is skill'd in most of the Languages of the Country . . . He lived at *Achein*, and was created a Noble by that Queen, was born a Venetian, but of *English* Parents, by which means he understands *Italian*, *Portugueze*, and *Latin* perfectly, and is an accomplished Courtier" (*Nine Years' Travels*, p. 157). Gary was afterwards a judge in Bombay. During the mutiny, Keigwin sent him to treat with the Mahrattas, which he did successfully.

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that your inclination is to prefer Clemency before [Ang]er. Be pleased S^r^ to give my service to Dr. St. John (the . . . .) and Mr. Gladman to whom would have writt a few [lines] did not the severity of the times disanimat mee. I haue [bin] so extreamly menaced of late, that have not dared to aproach the Forts gate since thursday last, for they were resolved to keepe me a prisoner if I had appeared there.

"S^r^ this, the Muccadam of this shibar[1] bound for Goa (belonging to my sonne) is enordered to acost your Shipp and deliver it to your owne hands, of whom I humbly beseech, not only the favor to graunt the said Vessell a free passage, but likewise give the said Muccadam a few lines, whereby she may navigat unmolested by any of the Hono^ble^ Companys Shipps; The same I begg of you for the rest of the Shibars, being in nomber six including my sonnes they all belonging to persons unconcern'd in the ——— (*sic*) and herein you will add much to the obligation of S^r^

"Your most humble and obedient Servant

"Bombaim the $\frac{15th}{5th}$ November 1684. "H: Gary

"Nicchholls is in the same predicament as I am, and dares not stirr out neither as yett.—H. G."

We find in the records the pass granted by Sir T. Grantham in compliance with Mr. Gary's request, as follows[2]:

"*To all Commanders and other Officers Belonging to any of the Ships in the Service of the Honb^le^ English East India Comp^a^. Greeting.*

"Suffer the Muccadum of this Shibar to passe without molestation, I being satisfied of his concerns, and you will oblige "Your Friend

"Novemb: 15th: 1684. "Tho: Grantham.

"From aboard Ship *Charles the Second* in Bombay Roade."

From Capt. Keigwin *to Sir* Thomas Grantham.[3]

"Sr. Thomas Grantham

"This too dayes past, I have been in expectation of being putt in Irons or haveing my throat cutt.

"They begin to grow colder, and I will putt the stratagem in execution when we last parted; or from the Mobile send you propositions, forbear any Hostile action as yett, butt what the bearer solicits I co'mend in (? to) you. Your Coxon has betraid our charge. And others your counsell and condition on board.

"All the Officers are in great trouble but are constant to promise; and all ruin'd if not accomplisht.

"From my owne brest (?) "Your Claret friend."[4]

"9ber 15th: 1684."

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[1] *Shaibár*, a kind of coasting vessel, described as a great *Patimár*. The latter is a fast-sailing vessel with lateen-rig, and one to three masts. The etymology is given as apparently P. *Shāhī-bār*, "royal carrier". The term is now used for very large vessels employed in the Malabar timber-trade. (See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiii, Pt. II, p. 720.)

[2] O.C., 5258.

[3] O.C. 5257.

[4] I suppose *Claret* is a disguised indication of the rebel Captain's name, "Keg-Wine".

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Indorsed:

"Capt. KIGWENS letter to T. G.

"Att our parting I avised him to draw a righting of resignement and to gett those soulders hands to it as was willing to the same, which would mollifie the rest.

"What my Coxon did was by my order and tooke effect.

"15th Novr. 1684."

From the same to the same:[1]

"Sr. THO. GRANTHAM

"In a little tyme I hope to compose this unhappy difference.

"Two of the principle I have convinc'd and are wonderfull penitent for opposing me; and are now my instruments to worke upon the rest; they have drawen a paper, which touches my selfe and officers, which I consented to: else could never have been effected (therefore hope noe advantage may be taken of itt) thirty have already submitted, in a day or two more I hope to accomplish it.

"I desire you would under write our propositions and send them by the bearer; it will satisfye the unbelieving, and putt a speedier period to this troubler. My selfe and officer have been in danger of our lives and substance, chiefly occasion'd by the Coxon: Capt. NICHOLS shall give you a suden visitt and a more particular account, and invitations to the Government. I dare not send you my fan (? plan) nor be knowen to write now; pray Sir think itt not an excuse for in all reallity I am Your obedient servt

"From BOMBAY ffort "RICH: KEIGWIN.

"9ber 16th 1684.

"Be pleas'd to putt in the proposition that for the future every souldier shall receive his full pay according to contract in ENGLAND."

The preceding paper is endorsed by Grantham:

"Capt. KEIGWINS letter to T. G.

"This letter came to me three dayes after the answer to their first Surrender and that day that I signed ther pardon. As soone as it was darke I convayed the 12 baggs of Gold on board my Ship privatly, and afterwards being forced to aquitt the fort againe I persuaded Capt. Kigwen to deliver me what money he had of his owne, youseing many arguments to him he was not safe, seing the unruliness of the souldiers and giueing him my faith I would deliuer it him againe upon demand. At last consented and delinered mee 2 baggs of Gould as he said was about 640£ protesting to me that was all his store. I gladly put it into my pockett, it being sealed, and then thought I had him fast, advising him to gett a paper writt for the willing souldiers to signe to; and that would bring on the rest, which tooke good efect. What my coxon did was by my order to tel the soulders privatly I had gott all the *Returne* mony on board, in hope to make the difference wider between them and their officers, whereby I might have some advantage which I believe acationed a speedier complyance than would have binn for they began to be afraid of one another."

This is followed by a lengthy paper of proposals, apparently that submitted by Keigwin for Sir Thomas's acceptance, which the former

[1] O.C. 5259.

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refers to in his letters last transcribed (Novr. 16th). They are in a fine clerk's hand, and from their quasi-legal rigmarole, apparently drawn by some one who had been a lawyer's clerk. I give only a sample[1]:

"PROPOSITIONS,

"MADE by Capt: RICHARD KEIGWIN the President[2] Governour of BOMBAY and all the Commission officers with all Other Officers and Souldiers of the said Island unto Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM Knt: being fully empowered by the President and Councell at SURRATT to make an amicable agreement with the said Governour for the Surrender of the Fort and Island BOMBAY:

"IMPRIMIS. That the said Governour and Persons aforesaid and every one of them their Heires Executors and Administrators bee for ever indemnified for all and all manner of mutinies and all Acts whatsoever, relating to the late Revolution made on this Island on the 27th of December 1683, or at any time untill the Surender of the Island unto Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM and that action so done on the 27th day of December aforesaid although it shall be Deemed Treason or otherwise, yitt notwithstanding that it wholly be pardoned to them the said Governour &ca. their Heires Executors and Administrators, and that the said action be forgiven and buried in Oblivion and never to be prosecuted by the honourable ENGa: ET: INDIA Company, their Successors and Servants whatever."

(Here follow other articles, making 13 in all, concluding thus):

"LASTLY that these articles after they are signed to and possession of the premises given to Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM and registered in this Court of Judicature that it may remaine on record for the Benefitt of any person that may bee hereafter molested and that upon pleading these articles it may be a Barr against any suite whatsoever and that there be no further proceedings on that action in any other Court of Judicature in England or on this Island."

"GENTLEMEN. The above mentioned Propositions I accept of and declare upon my faith my honour and all that is sacred and good unto mee to see them performed according to the true meaning and intent of them to all the Officers and Inhabitants of Bombay. Witness my hand and seall this Eighteenth day of December[3] 1684 in Bombay ffort.

"Signed Sealed and Deld in the Presence of us . . . ."

I do not feel quite certain of the place for this next letter, as the date has been torn, but I imagine it comes in this order, and should bear 17th or 18th November:

From CAPT. KEIGWIN *to* "*Hon. Sr* THOMAS GRANTHAM *Knt., Comr. of* Charles ye 2d." (O.C. 2562.)

"Bombay Road.

"Sr: THOMAS GRANTHAM

"I thank God I have our Souldiers and Peoples consent to desire you to come on shore, and settle the Government. Captn NICHOLS we have desired once more to wait on you. Ther is not now a dissenting person; therfore you are as safe as my Selfe, haveing referd all the compleatment of itt to my management, fayle not of being on shore to night, that we may have the more tyme to

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1 O.C. 5260.

2 Qu. "present".

3 A mistake for *November*.

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draw up such writings as may be most needfull for our purpose on hand. Soe desiring you to give credence to the Bearer I conclude in haste

"Your humble Servt.

"Bombay ffort, "Rich: Keigwine.

"( ) th 1684."

The next following document is apparently that which Sir Thomas Grantham actually signed as pardon to the rebels, in lieu of their wordy proposals. It is a copy without signature (O.C. 5261).

"Whereas on the seaven and twentieth of December last there was a Revolution made on the Island of Bombay by Richard Keigwine &ca. And now a dutifull and subsequent complyance and present surrender for his Majesty, expressed and offered by the said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors &ca. Know all men by these presents that I Thomas Grantham, Knight, by virtue of my respective Commission from his Majesty of Greate Brittaine, and the Honble English East India Company, and the Honble John Child President of India &c. doe by these Presents fully and absolutely promise give and grant unto the said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors &ca., as alsoe to all the Inhabitance of the said Island full absolute and Ample pardon, with his and their Respective Lives Estates Immunities and Preveldges for all and every Act or Acts Crime or Crimes Transgression or transgressions, by him or any authorized under him, Committed or permitted since and from the twenty sixth day of December last one thousand six hundred eighty and three, and I the said Thomas Grantham doe by these presents firmly oblidge myselfe my Heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes to make good and entirely performe all and singular the premises unto the above mentioned Richard Keigwine &ca. firmely obliging my selfe to see this Generall pardon confirmed and ratified by his most Sacred Majesty of Great Brittaine, by the Honble English East India Company in England, and by the Honble John Child President &ca. here, at and upon his arrivall neare Bombay ffort, and further I the said Thomas Grantham doe agree and bind myselfe my heires Executors Administrators and Assignes to procure then and their an effectuall Generall Pardon from the said John Child &ca. signed by him in as large and ample a manner and forme, as usual in Law for use and behoofe of the above said Richard Keigwine and all his Abettors yeilding and surrendering my Selfe by these presents as prents[1] Hostage untill the said John Child doe Ratifie Signe and Confirme and declare ratified and confirmed and all and everything herein by me ratified and confirmed: Witness my hand and Seale this Eighteenth day of December, One thousand Six hundred Eighty four in Bombay ffort."

Extract of a letter from Mr. John Gladman *to the* President and Council at Surat, dated Bombay 9th December, 1684.[2]

(The letter gives a narrative of Sir T. Grantham's proceedings, which up to his escape from the Fort, after its first cession to him, contains nothing additional. It goes on):

"Sr. Thomas got as privatly out of the ffort as he could and went on board

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[1] *Sic*, qy. for "president's" hostage?

[2] O.C. 5283.

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Sr: Thomas Grentham

No. 1

This two dayes past,
been in expectation of being
Irons; or hauing my throat
they begin to grow colder, a
putt ye stratagem in executi
last parted; or from ye Mo
yu propositions, forbear a
action as yett, butt ye ye d
solicits Ieomend in yu:
has betraid our charges. a
ye councell & condition on bo
All ye officers are in great
butt are constant to promi
all ruine if not accomp
Your Carol

From my owne
Closett 9ber 15th: 1684

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No. 2.

Capt Rigwons letter
to F G

Att our parting I advised
him to draw a righting of
wsignoment and to gott
those gentlemen hands to it
as was willing to the same
which would mollifie the rest.
what my lemon did was
by my order and it tooke
effect

15 Nov. 1684

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his Ship, where upon Consideration it was thought Convenient to send the *Sampson* to MAHIM . . . to block up that passage and hinder all boats going in that way, The *Chyna Merchant* whoe arrived here the 11th we ordered to lie under CARRINJAH to the eastward of Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM Ship, soe that noe boat could pass us, but commanded all on board, suffering noe provisions or anything to goe on BOMBAY. If the people would goe with theire boats they might, but all that was in them was taken into the ship, not letting them carry soe much as a little wood with them, which was very much wanted in the Island. On the other hand the PORTUGESE had stopt up all passage in SALLSET, letting nothing goe off thence (which was not done in obedience to his Majesty or respect to your honours, but to requite them for an affront they had received from those heire) Soe that all Sustainance was Cut off from Supplying them. In this interview (? interval) the Souldiers were ffed with Licquors by some disaffected Persons that they might be the more easely perswaded to Continue in rebellion, which held till the 18th November, threatning to kill all those that should offer to surrender; all which time KEIGWIN, FFLETCHER, WILKINS, SMITH and SUGAR did use all endeauors possible to perswade them to a peaceable surrender, which they complyed with the 19th; artickles of agreement with a pardon being sent to Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM which was delivered him by Capt. THOMAS NICCOLLS and were signed by him. The same day hee went ashoare and tooke possession of the ffort. The next day the worshipfull JOHN ST. JOHN, the other two commanders and my Selfe went, where wee were very quietly receiued, and still continew. The 21st Sr. THOMAS sent for those Souldiers on board him, whoe when they came ashoare mixed them amongst those beffore, putting halfe in one Company and halfe in another, all people being very well satisfied (excepting fowr or five which appeare not openly, that shall be secured on board upon the ffirst offence, to receive the punishments dew to them), here is one JONES, as I am Informed Judge JONES Sone, that has been a greate actor in this rebellion, and is still very extravagant with his tounge, threatening to kill Mr. ZINZAN when ever he comes ashore, for which and other dissatisfactions as to the Government we have sent to Secure him, and hinder that general Confusion which may happen by his folly."

Extract of a letter from Dr. JOHN ST. JOHN (sent out this year as Judge of an Admiralty Court) *to the Company.* It has no date, but must have been written in December 1684 (O.C. 5291).

"Your Honours' servants are discontented here; and in SURRATT, All of them complain'd to me, as long as Your Honours creditt the private informations and letters of some, and displace others accordingly, your interest and affaires will suffer in every respect; the last indulgence your Honours made is very unwellcome. The Lord Chiefe Justice JONES's[1] son is a pernicious man on this Island, after the generall pardon and wee reinstated, he doth not desist to speake the worst of things against your Honours: which tho' too publiquely don, cañot be with safety prevented att present till the President arrives, and tho' all the rest of the inhabitants are overaw'd with my Commission, anything from the King Sounding greate, yett this man will not abstaine from his vnderhand practises. It wounds my heart to see how your Honours are served. Wee have two Inter-

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[1] Sir THOMAS JONES was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1683 to 1686.

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lopers in the riuers mouth neare Surratt, but my advice in seizing them cañot be executed, the Comanders of all your Ships refuse to obey the President and Selfe in that pointe, alledging they have no power. There must be more effectuall Course taken as to this perticular at home . . . .

"S'. THOMAS GRANTHAM is highly entitled to your Honours favour. He approved himselfe just, firme, and honest to your Honours Interest. He tooke verry greate paines in reduceing this Island, and one time narrowly escaped being killed. He is a fortunate man, and without him this Island had not been so easily and without any bloodshed reduced".

There are, in the "State-Paper-Office Documents" in the Record Office, a variety of papers relating to the Bombay revolt, from the pen of the same Dr. John St. John. The first is written within a few days of his arrival from Europe. Its fulsome laudation of President Child is in ludicrous contrast to the tone six months later, when the same official, having treated the Judge's claim cavalierly, sinks to "one John Child"!

Dr. JOHN ST. JOHN to the King, dated "from SWALLEY MARINE near SURRATT this 20th of 7ber 1684":

* * * * * *

"And when upon a full information by most of your Majesties subjects here, and the honble. President himselfe I was satisfied and convinced that this Rebellion and Conspiracy att BOMBAY was carried on, and promoted by the Interlopers and theire Agent here, the reproaches, scandalous and ignominious falsitudes they openly spread of your Majesty are notorious to all nations here, even the very heathens, the pyratical depredations, murders, and other late actions of the Interlopers on the COAST OF INDIA and GULPH of PERSIA, are of incredible dishonour to your Majestie, disparagement of the whole English Nation and destruction of your Loyall Subjects here. . . ." (with much more of the infinite mischief caused by these Interlopers.)

"And all this is less then I am inform'd by your Majesties truly loyall and honest Subject our Honble: JOHN CHILD President of INDIA, and his Councell. His Experience here, His ability, judgment, conduct, true Loyalty, and zealous disposition for your Majesties and the English Nations concernes are to the admiration and Content of all your Majesties Loyall Subjects in INDIA, and at this time to my certaine knowledge nothing in this world woundeth his heart more then to See and heare how vndutifully, falsely, and maliciously the Interlopers asperse, represent, and vilifie your most Sacred Majestie here, who confederating with the present Rebells at BOMBAY, alleged all that your Majestie granted this last additionall Charter to the Honble: EAST INDIA Company in consideration of a vast Summe of money; that your Majesties Proclamation was of no force nor binding without an Act of Parliament; that your Majestie could do nothing without the same &ca. as appeared effectually by Capt. KEGWIN, the now OLIVER of the Rebells and Protector of BOMBAY, publiquely asserting that your Majesties Proclamation was not binding, having an Interloper there in the harbour of BOMBAY which he protected" etc. etc.

"In all my lifetime I never mett with a more zealous subject of your Majesties then this Honble. JOHN CHILD, he often declares that he would Sacrifice vnto your Majestie and in your Service the last drop of his blood, he is vneasie and impatient to see your Majestie dishonoured and vilified by all the Rebells of

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BOMBAY and Interlopers, and the more because he hath not power or authoritie to vindicate the same. He hath been in INDIA vpwards of 25 yeares, and by the Judgment and Confession of every one wee never yett had and must not expect a man of his ability judgment and conduct. . . . and I humbly conceave it highly concerneth your Majesties interest to prevent his leaveing INDIA or removeall, for all our present hopes are in him alone att this distance. His troubles, cares, affronts, and Sufferings by the Interlopers are so numerous that he is weary of his Life, and Imploy. . . . all the rest of the Honble: Presidents Family are as truly Loyall and as well deserving of your Majestie, for theire greate integritie and loyalty as any Knott of your Majesties Subjects in INDIA or ENGLAND which addeth in this Juncture verry much to my Satisfaction &ca." (!!)

"I thought it my duty to enlarge thus. . . . because, I am an impartiall man . . . . and if for our speedy protection herein your Majestie should think fitt to create the President of SURRATT Lord Admirall of INDIA with power to proceed more effectually against Interlopers, and other pyratts and Rebells here, it will add to the generall Satisfaction of all your Majesties Loyall Subjects here, and the President will assert your Majesties Prerogative, and maintaine the rights and Properties of the English Nation with equall dignity. He is the onely man wee have in INDIA fitt and qualified to regulate all with creditt and advantage" etc. etc. etc.

(This nauseating person had arrived at Surat just five days before!)

There is also a Report by the same person, and in the same tone, dated 23rd Septr.; another letter to the King commending Sir Thomas Grantham, of 27th January 1684-5; and one of the 5th February in like strain to the Duke of York. In the latter, however, St. John says:

"There hath been many irregular things done here by some of the Companys Servants, and Strange provocation given. The like of the future I will study to prevent. I will not be wanting to my duty in forwarding to your Royal Highness my impartiall Judgment of all things in ASIA."

Things are much changed when we get to the month of May (10) 1685, when we have a letter of the Judge's to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, in which he requests the latter's protection against President Child, who has deprived him of the office of Judge of Bombay!

"I am to acquainte you that I arrived here the 3d of 7ber: 84 in good health, and finding the Fort and Island BOMBAY in a revolution, Sr: THOMAS GRANTHAM and my Selfe (!) successfully reduced the same and reinstated the Companys Servants after nine monthes banishment. After all thus settled att my owne proper expences four months, Sr: THO: was no sooner gon then the President, one JOHN CHILD, contrary to my contract in ENGLAND and repeated assurances from him selfe, disposed of the Judicature at BOMBAY, and gave his Commission to another altogether incapable,[1] having never studied any law or learning; but this is not all, they refused to pay me a penny of my Sallary, tho' I have

[1] It was Mr. Vaux, whom Child had appointed to be judge in Civil Suits. See *Bruce*, ii, 565.

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upwards of 200£ due to me. . . . I am sure the Government here and my barbarous vsage will be highly displeasing to his Majestie." . . .

Extract of a letter from the Council at SURAT, *to the Court, dated* "SWALLY-MARINE, 2d Decr. 1684." (O.C. 5274.)

"Inclosed is a small PORTUGUEZ Letter that gives an account of BOMBAY being in Sr. THOS. GRANTHAMS hands, which wee hope is true, but to our admiration have not anything from him, nor any other, besides that wee now send. . . ."

The next extract shows with how little complacency the Surat authorities regarded the easy terms which Sir Thomas had given to the rebels:

From Letter of the same to same, dated "SWALLY-MARINE, 13th Jan. 1684" (5). (O.C. 5295.)

* * * * * * *

"Allthough Sr. THOMAS GRANTHAM &ca. may have given a full accompt of all by Ship *Mexico* concerning the reducing of BOMBAY, yet we think it not amiss to send you Coppie of the Mutineers proposals made to Sr. THOMAS wherein your honours will see their Impudence and ranck naughtiness to the last. KEIGWIN the notorious naughty Rascall is on Board of *Charles the 2d.*, as Impudent as hell gloring in his Rouguery, being Secur'd under Sr. THOMASS protection, with whom he designes for ENGLAND. Wee cañott see but hee will get out of our hands, but Indeed its ten thousand pittys he should escape the Halter, being the very false Rascall without whome the Revolt on BOMBAY would not have bine."

This important matter accomplished, Sir Thomas Grantham, after revisiting Surat, departed in his ship *Charles the Second* for England, where he arrived in July 1685. On his arrival at Falmouth, he forwarded the following to the King—viz., James II, who had succeeded in the February preceding:

"July 24th 1685.[1]

"May it please your most Sacred Majesty.

"I humbly presume to congratulate your MAJESTIES prosperity and good success against those wicked Rebels which endeavoured to violate your most Sacred MAJESTIES just Right.

"On the 21st Instant off of FALMOUTH I happily mett with Capt. DAVIS and Capt. TREVANION by whom I had the good news which was the most welcome in the world to me. I have brought home Capt. KEIGWIN and hope that I have Acted on BOMBAY Account, may be well pleaseing to your MAJESTY, which God grant. As soone as I arrive in the River I will waite on your MAJESTY and present a Catalogue of all my Transactions in all places in my Voyage. I endeavoured to settle the distractions on STA HELENEA but there is an old Oliverian Presbiterian Governour who would not adhere to reasonable tearmes but is rather inclineable to Abingdon Law. I have a Petition from the Inhabitants of the Island which I shall present to your most Sacred Majesty with some other

[1] This letter is in the Record Office (from *State Paper Office*, East India *Papers*, Portfolio No. 11, 20). It is written on coloured glazed Oriental paper stencilled with a diaper.

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Papers taken from the Rebels at BOMBAY who have been encouraged by the Presbiterian Party and Interlopers. Praise to God I left the Island in Peace and quietness under the Government of Mr. CHARLES ZINZAN, who it is believed is a Loyall Subject to your most Sacred MAJESTY. I humbly beg your Majesties Pardon, and be pleased to accept of this at present from him who desires to live no longer then he hath the continuance of your most Sacred Majesties ffavour who will never be wanting to serve your MAJESTY with my Life and ffortune and Subscribes himselfe as in Duty bound

"Your Majesties most Loyall and obedient
"Subject and Servant
"THOMAS GRANTHAM."

In the Herald's Office recital, which has been quoted largely before, we also find a description of Sir Thomas's proceedings at Bombay, which by no means corresponds with his own narrative given at the time. It states that:

"He, the said Sr THOMAS GRANTHAM lay by till he had Secured or cut off 22 of their Ships and Vessels laden with Provisions or Merchandize, and then landing the 22th of the Same Month of November with 250 men in the Night surprized the Castle and Fort which had 114 Peices of Cannon mounted, Making himself Master thereof, whereupon he released the aforesaid Mr. WARD from his Confinement, retrieved to the Value of 12 Thousand Pound of the Company's Treasure that had been Treacherously seiz'd in the Ship *Return*, and without the effusion of Blood reclaimed both Soldiers and Inhabitants to their Due obedience by the Seasonable Offer of Indemnity. . . . which he afterwards procured to be ratified on Board the *Charles the Second* at the Rivers Mouth of Surat, 20th Febry. 1684-5, by the Honourable JOHN CHILD, since created Baronet, President of INDIA &c. And the said Sr: THOMAS GRANTHAM . . . upon his coming Home received of the Gift of his most Gracious Sovereign and Master the late King JAMES 2 a very valuable Gold chain and Medal, as an Evidence of his favorable acceptance of his Remarkable Services, besides a Considerable Present from the Honorable the EAST INDIA Company out of their gratefull sence of his having faithfully and effectually discharg'd the Severall Important Trusts Committed to his Management."

It appears from the same document that Grantham held the posts of:

"One of the Gentlemen Ordinary of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Chamber and Esquire for the Queen's Body at Her Royal Coronation, in both which Stations he likewise Served the late King WILLIAM and Queen MARY of glorius and immortal memory, Having also been one of the Directors for GREENWICH HOSPITALL from its First Foundation."

Sir Thomas is described in 1711, as of Batavia House in the Parish of Sunbury in the County of Middlesex. The date of his death I have not found.[1] It is a painful conclusion to these notices of a man who

[1] By the courtesy of the Vicar of Sunbury, I learn that the Parish Register contains no entry of the burial of Sir Thomas. Under April 26, 1711, it records the burial of "The Lady Grantham". The same authority informs me that Batavia House no longer exists, but there is a field (no doubt its site) still known as *Batavia*.

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seems to have really done eminent services to his country, to be compelled to express a belief that in his old age he thus grievously falsified the narrative of some of his actions and their results.

I add the following manful despatch, which was written by Capt. Keigwin a few years before his mutiny, after a naval action which he fought with the Mahrattas at HENDRY KENDRY, south of Bombay (O.C. 4665).

"Worshipfull S^r and Councill:

"I have received your letters by the boates with water, by which you mention of our engagement seen and heard by you, Soe Soone as the day appear'd wee see SEVAGEES Armada drawn out of NAGAUN, rowing up to us alongst Shoare, Keeping the shoare close on board, at East a fresh land breaze. Wee riding at an Anchor musket shot of them, they rowed up as far as TULL just a brest of us, I was going to send to them, but they came upon me so fast with the Wind and their Oars, with their Prows upon mee, firing, that I had not time, Wee not being able to bring a Gun to beare upon them riding with our heads towards them. Our Strength and Shibbars[1] lying aft, were forced to cut and loose our sailes, the fight began about Seaven of the clock, I commanded the Shibbars and Manchuas[2] to keepe a little a head of me, and they kept so far that I had no Succour from them, my Selfe and Mr. GAPES Grob[2] the Stern most; what accident befell the latter, I know not, but he called to me, I haled up our Mainsaile in the brailes for wee could Shorten no more Saile for feare of being on Shoare but ½ a mile before the Enemy was up with him his Ensigne and Topsaile was struck, the the rest of the ffleet ran from me, Seeing our selves a lone Capt: MINCHIN and my selfe encouraged our Souldiers and Seamen admonishing them what disgrace it would be to Christians to be Prisoners to heathens but courageously to defend, and fight the enemy bravely, they unanimously said they would live and dye with us, wee promised to show our selves forward for their example, we hal'd up our sailes, the Enemy thinking we were as easily swallow'd as the other, came up our sterne, with 24 Grobs, I know not how many Galwets,[2] I order'd our men not to fire untill the word of Comand, Soe when they came within Pistoll Shot, and they finding us mute, thrust themselves forward in their boates to enter, but wee discharged our Sterne Chase with Round Shot and Patridge, and presently our blunder busses and small shot so smartly ply'd, that checkt their drumes and Pipes, and in halfe an hour, wee beat them from their Guns and Musquets, and brought them by the Lee, Some was seen to goe downe to the bottome, they were a greate while before they could goe about, had our Shibbars Manchuas and Grob stood by me, wee had secur'd the one halfe of them, but God have given us the victory, that with this small vessell wee should defeate 40 saile, wee presently tackt upon them and chased them into Shallow water, and they are holed againe in NAGAUN, I sent for those officers on board and declared them Cowards nor can they make any defence for themselves, for some endeavour'd to run to Shoare, others they did not know where, but they haue promised to stand by me better

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[1] See note, p. clxxv.

[2] *Manchua*, a large row-boat. *Grob*, or more correctly *Grab*, a kind of galley. *Galwet* or *Gallivat*, a large war-boat with oars, the origin of *jolly-boat*.

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for the future, but the trust wee have in our selves is more then I can from them thinke, and soe wee ride Triumphant againe at Henry Kenry, in time of our engagement there was five boates went in besides Mr. Gapes Grob, which they have hal'd up, if you could fit up a fire boate out of hand, they might be burnt in the night. I am sorry for the Loss, but it cant be remedied, if they come out with the ffleet to morrow I will fight them God willing, but am glad to heare of the Succour your Worship is sending us, for the countenance of a Ship dismays the Enemy, thus having charity for all men and hoping future amendment, Seeing us a lone bang the Enemy, with the Check and admonition I have given these officers I hope they may doe better, and I remaine

"Yor: obedient Servt:

"Richard Keigwin."

"*Revenge*, Hendry Kendry

"October the 18th 1679.

"The reliefe they have had as yet is but small. Wee want spare musquets Some being split, wee want wood throughout the fleet, which is as necessary as water."

GYFFORD, WILLIAM. There has been some confusion about this gentleman, owing to the fact that he had one or more contemporaries of the same surname in the Company's service. Both Mr. Talboys Wheeler, and the Rev. Philip Anderson, in his interesting book, *The English in Western India*, seem to identify Mr. Gifford, or Gyfford, who was Deputy-Governor of Bombay from 1670-71 to 1676, with the gentleman of the same surname who was sent to open trade at Tonquin in 1672-73.[1] But the Deputy-Governor's Christian name was *Philip*, as Mr. Anderson knew, and as letters with his signature in the India Office show, and this Philip died in 1676; whereas the gentleman sent to Tonquin, identical, as *his* autograph proves, with the subject of this article, was William, and lived long beyond 1676.

William Gyfford was first entertained by the Company as a factor in December 1657.[2] He appears in the Council of Fort St. George in 1662, and his signature to a letter, dated April 11th in that year (O.C. 2929), identifies him with the William Gyfford who was Governor

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[1] See Talboys Wheeler's *Madras*, etc., vol. i, p. 124, and Anderson, 2nd ed., p. 119.

[2] "At a court of Committees Holden the 21st of December 1757 afternoone:

". . . . was read to the Court the severall petitions for employment, vizt: (among 15 in all) 'Wm. Gifford'.

"But before the Court made choice of any of them It was agreed to send two young men to remayne at Guiney and three to Voyage out and home vpon such Ships as they shall be appointed to; And to performe such service for the Company as they shall require, who shall give a Bond of 500£ a peece security and have 50£ a peece for the said voyage." (W. Gyfford was one of those entertained on the latter terms, and was posted as factor to the ship *Blackmore*.)

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of Fort St. George in the time of Mr. Hedges. I find an earlier mention of him, which shows that in or before 1659[1] he had been sent to the Archipelago, or the South Sea, as it was termed at the India House in those days. A letter of his, as 2d. of Council of the Fort, to the Agent there, dated June 5, 1663, shows that he then desired to return home.[2]

"You may please to remember that in the Honourable Company's Instructions which you brought out along with you, you have in charge the examination concerning my two MACCASSAR voyages, whereunto I returned you my Answer in writeing, and was thereby at a generall Consultation in METCHLEPATAM the 20th of October 1662 by you cleared and enordered to take upon me the Seconds place in FORT ST. GEORGE which hitherto I have willingly performed, but my tyme being now almost expired, and my encouragement soe small, I thought it convenient to give your Worsp: &ca: notice of my Intentions home; that in the mean tyme you might bee thinking of some one to supply my place, which hope you bee pleased to take heade of, and discharge mee, as alsoe to Lycence my retourne to my Native Countrey according to my desire, that I may be providing for the same in tyme.

"But notwithstanding the above written, if your Worp: &ca: are not at present furnished with a person fitt for this employment (though presume you are with enough) and that my Service therein may bee esteemed by you obsolutely necessary, I shall bee very willing to doe my best endeavours vntill you shall bee provided, being resolved that my Hono^{ble} Masters Affaires shall not suffer by any omission of mine, humbly acknowledging my selfe to bee theirs and yours," etc.

I presume that the Agent used strong persuasion, but in any case Mr. Gyfford continued to hold his place in the Council till the beginning of 1665. The last letter to the Court, signed by him, that I have found, is dated 12th Jan. 1664 (*i e.*, 1665). The hot dissensions between the Agent, Sir Edward Winter, and some members of his Council, which ended in such an extraordinary episode, were in full blaze, and Gyfford is spoken of in the letters written by the Agent and those who adhered to him, as trying hard, though vainly, to bring about reconciliation between Winter and his adversaries, of whom the leader was WILLIAM JEARSEY. These had only, it is represented, drawn Jearsey's hostility upon Gyfford himself. Gyfford apparently left in January 1665, and the Winter episode did not culminate till June. It will be found noticed under SAMBROOKE.

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[1] On 26th July in that year Mr. Daniel Sheldon, of the Factory at Kásimbázár, writing to Thomas Davies at Húglí, says (O.C. 2791):

"I give you many thanks for the undeserved opinion you have of me. I know not any friend I have at the COAST could make the Agent have the least, noe man besides Mr. GIFFORD Knowing I understood anything in (illegible), and he's gon to MACASSAR."

[2] O.C. 2978.

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After six and a half years Mr. Gyfford again tried his fortunes in the East. Under 21st Sept. 1671, we find the following notices regarding his re-appointment to the Company's service:

In *Court Book*, 7th June 1671:

"The Governour acquainting the Court that Mr. BARDS cannot proceed in the Company's Service, They took consideration of the rest of the Factors already chosen, And resolved that Mr. WILLIAM GYFFORD be recommended to the Agent and Councel to be employed as Chief in one of the Factories to be settled at TUNQUEEN or FORMOSA."

And under 30th June:

"The Court now proceeded to the placing of the Factors and Writors fermerly elected, and to the establishing of their Salaries, which are appointed as followeth *vizt*:

"DAVID STEPHENS, 150£ per Annum
"SIMON DELTOE, 120£ ,,
"WILLIAM GYFFORD, £120 ,,

Under 23rd August:

"Mr. GYFFORD permitted to take his Sister along with him in the *Zant* frigot for the South Seas, he paying her passage."

We find also a letter from the Court to Bantam (the Council of which was set over all the Settlements in the farther East), in which mention is made of Factors engaged, and among others, of "Mr. WM. GYFFORD at 120£ per annum to be cheife in our ffactory of Tonqueene". Also that during his stay at Bantam he was to be of the Council there.[1]

There is in the records (O.C. 3708) an immensely long letter from Tonquin, dated 7th Dec. 1672, signed by W. GYFFORD, THOM: JAMES, and N. WAITE.[2] The letter extends to 31 closely written pages, giving

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[1] Of Mr. Samuel Barron, entertained as a factor at the same time as Gyfford, we find the following unconsciously comic account in the Court's letter:

"We have entertained Mr. SAMVELL BARRON . . . . intended Second for JAPON, whoe informed us that he was borne at TONQUEENE, His Grandfather by the Father's Side a SCOTCHMAN, His Father a DUTCHMAN, And his Mother of the race of the PORTUGALLS; hath bin in the Dutch service, well acquainted with TONQUEENE, TYWAN, JAPON, and CHINA."

Many years later the Court write to Fort St. George regarding this polyphyllian personage (9 June 1686):

"Mr. SAMUEL BARRON is no servant of ours but a Deserter, the history whereof is too long to tell you . . . ."

[2] This gentleman was afterwards Agent at Bantam, and dismissed by the Court. Like many others of their dismissed servants he took service with the New (or English) Company, and in 1699, as Sir Nicholas Waite, became the President and Consul of that Company at Surat, where his intemperate folly made much mischief. (See under GAYER.)

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an account of their dealings with the Government, and of the details and prospects of trade at Tonquin. We may take a sample:

"Now your Honours have had some prospect of this trade, We presume you will conclude[1] to prosecute it notwithstanding the trouble and the great expences we have from the Courte, because of the great gaine that in some short tyme your honours will find comeing in by it; butt this King must be pleased. There is as much Reason to obliedge[2] him as the Emperor of JAPON, for we believe he is as proude; and if he should know that your honours wrote to Japon and not to him, he would never permitt us to setle here. He looks upon JAPON to be a Small Countrey in respect of his, and will not believe to the contrary. He is now gone to Warr with 800,000 men against COACHIN CHYNA" . . . .

Further on they give a detail of presents that should be sent out for the King and others. Some of these are:

"Hatts of broadest sort, 20, to give away as we see occasion.
"Ten dozen quart botles of Sweet MALLAGO wine to give away . . . .
"A young Lyon if to be gott, or otherwise a Lyons skin . . . .
"Tulip roots and eminies (anemones?) . . . .
"An Eagle and a few Turkies . . . .
"Allablaster ffigures of VENICE.
"Two or three Shock Doggs very small . . . ."

Whilst in this post Gyfford fell under the Court's animadversion and was removed, as I find from the following entry in the *Court Book*, 4th November 1675:

"We find how the Agent Mr. GIFFORD and Mr. JAMES have drove a greater trade in Callicoes for TONQUIN then the Company; ffor which cause the Committees are of opinion Mr. Gyfford be removed as Chief, and sent for home, and Mr. BENJAMIN SANKER be Chief of TUNKIN."

About a year later the fault is condoned, *Court Book*, 20th October 1676:

"The Committees having seen a Journall of Mr. GIFFORDS and Councell lately come to their hands, giving a large accompt of all transactions at TONQUEEN, relateing to the commerce of those parts. They thereupon offer it as their opinion That Mr. GIFFORD be continued Chiefe at TONQUEEN (provided that he forbear private Trade)."

* * * * * * *

GYFFORD, however, came home, for in *Court Book*, 22nd February 1677-8, we find:

"The Committees to whom the busines of Mr. Wm GYFFORD was referred, reporting that they found he had an interest in   peeces of Callicoe in private trade from BANTAM to TONQUIN, and *he being called in* alledged that he apprehended the same had been permitted . . . . On consideration thereof had, It appearing that his trading in the said Callicoes was before the prohibi-

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1 "Conclude", as used here, would now be called an *Americanism*.

2 And here we have a memorial of the old-fashioned pronunciation *obleege*, which, perhaps, expired with Sir Roderick Murchison of honoured memory.

[illegible] by M^r [illegible]

my Steward which I would have you furnish him

with, as soon as possibly you can, that his stay ashoar

may be short, which is all ~~at~~ present from

From aboard Ship Loyall Resolution
in Ballasore Road the 20th Aug^st 1684

Your affectionate friend

William Gyfford

tion made in 1671, and that his only neglect was in not Registering the same according to order; and in regard of his great Suffering by the Warr and otherwise, while he was in the Companys service at TONQUIN, The Court were pleased to remit the stated damages due on the said Callicoes, and ordered that his Acct. of Salary be made up to the time of his arriving home from BANTAM."

22nd March 1674-8. His security bonds ordered to be delivered to be cancelled. And not quite three years later (3rd Novr. 1680) he is again entertained to join the Council at Fort St. George; 8th Decr., elected Agent there; and 29th Decr. he is formally nominated to supersede Streynsham Master as Agent and Governor at Fort St. George. Whilst holding that office he proceeded, under orders from home, in 1684, to relieve Hedges of his authority in Bengal. (See *Diary*, pp. 136 *seqq.*)

Gyfford in turn found himself entered once more in the Court's black books. Some example of the language which they applied to him has been given already (*supra*, p. xx, *note*); and here is another specimen:

"You allmost tire us out with writeing so much and so often on the Same Subject, and at best you make us loose a year or two Revenue, before you put our order into effectuall execution, which was the fatall errour of that heavy President GYFFORD." (*Court to the Fort*, **22 Jany. 168$\frac{7}{8}$.**)

I have not found in the records any dispatch from the Court superseding Mr. Gyfford, but the order appears in *The Company's Commission for Establishing of the President and Council of* FORT ST. GEORGE, dated 22nd October 1686, and sent "on the *Bengall* via Suratt."

This, after rehearsing how the Court "appoints Sir JOHN CHILD Barronett to be our Captaine Generall, Admirall, and Commander in Chief of all our land and sea forces and Governour of our island of Bombay, City of Madrass, and Fort St. George," etc., etc. . . . . "and next under the said Sir JOHN CHILD our Generall, The said ELIHU YALE to be President of and for all our affaires on the Coast of Choromandell and Bay of Bengall" . . . . Then goes on to declare:

"And we do hereby revoke, annull, repeal and make Void the Commission by us granted under our larger Seal, unto WILLIAM GYFFORD Esq. bearing date the 29 December 1680," etc., etc.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler also gives the following extracts from the Minutes of Council surviving at Madras:

"Saturday 23 July, 1687. This evening late the box of Letters etc. from the Right Honble Company per the *Williamson*, was brought on shore and deferred till Monday to be perused.

"Monday 25 July. The General Letters and Commission from the Right Honble Company were perused, and the President finding by said Commission that ELIHU YALE Esq. was constituted President, and President GYFFORD's Commission revoked, he delivered up his charge, which with President GYFFORD's best wishes for all good success and prosperity to the Right Honble. Company's

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affairs under the management of the New President, concludes this Consultation Book."[1]

Another extract from the same work terminates my knowledge of President Gyfford's career:

"Friday 29 July 1687. The Rt. Honble. Company, in their General Letter, having complained of their great charge in keeping two tables, which was chiefly occasioned by President GYFFORD's indisposition, the Fort being always unhealthful to him necessitated his living at the Garden, which he found to agree with him much better. And though the Company do suppose and believe that the Rt. Honble. Company do still retain a good esteem and respect for him and his services, yet in obedience to their Honours' orders we cannot presume to continue that charge; and President GYFFORD desiring to excuse his coming to the Fort, and to continue at the Garden during his short stay in India,—it is thought fit and ordered to be allowed him *Pagodas* 25 per month for his diet while here, with a suitable number of Peons and other servants."[2]

HAGGERSTON, THOMAS. The history of this person and of his appearance in Bengal is given at pp. 96, 97 of *Diary*, *q.v.* He had absconded with 30,000 Rs. worth of gold and pearls entrusted to him in the Persian Gulf to carry to Surat. Arriving at Balasore, in the ship of a Capt. Burton, he was arrested by order of Hedges and the Húglí Council, and appears to have been carried in arrest to Húglí. For we find in the records the following letter from the Húglí Council, followed by the original letter written by Haggerston to the said Captain Henry Burton, both being dated "Hugly the 24th August, 1683."[3]

Letter from the Hugli Council.

"Mr. WM. FITZHUGH and Counc^ll,

"S^rs,

"Yours of the 6th and 12th inst: we have received, to both which we have nothing to reply.

"THOMAS HAGGERSTON arriv'd here 2 dayes agoe, and has confest that he has putt to his owne use 8 Parcells of the 18 delivered to him at BASSERA and CONG, and the rest given to people at Surrat, some of whome we are informed, have absolutely denyed the receipt of any.

"We doe hereby order you to seize and secure all that shall be found belonging to the said THOMAS HAGGERSTON, whether goods or necessaries, and take an Inventory of them, and send it to us that we may order the disposall of them as is best for the satisfaction of those that intrusted him.

"We are informed that halfe Mr. BURTON'S ship and Cargoe belongs to him, which we would have you seize and secure till further order, and inquire what is

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1 "A new book is always opened with the advent of a New Governor." *Talboys Wheeler*, i, 172.

2 *Ib.*, pp. 177-8. The allowance would be about equal to 90 Rs. a month.

3 O.C. 4966, and 4965.

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become of the mony that he received of Capt. UDALL for spice, and secure it, giving advice to

Srs.

Your affectionate friends,

"WM. HEDGES
"JOHN BEARD
"WM. JOHNSON
"R: TRENCHFIELD."

"Mr. HAGGERSTON sending a letter to be conveyed to Capt. BURTON, we thought good to breake it open, and Seal it againe with the Agents Seal; we send you a Coppy, which after perusall and seizure of all goods, Jewells &c., you may deliver the originall to Capt. BURTON."

("Initials of Council). "turnover."

(On the back in Hedges' holograph)

"Kept till the 25th August 1683."

"Srs,

"We are inform'd Mr. HAGGERSTON has gott Mr. PERKES to write away with all speed to BALLASORE to convey all his money, Jewells, and effects whatsoever. Be nimble upon your receipt of this and seize with all speed: We are &c." (signed as before.)

"Sr:

"This serves only for a reiteration of my former request to you that you will according to ye advice of all People in generall come up and clear your Selfe and Shipp of all claim the Agent may have upon you, bringing with you your Bill of Saile, sheweing Monsr. POWLESE halfe part of your Shipp, the Beetle nut Acco: alsoe bring up with you, not else but my due respects to your worthy Lady and my dear little Mistress Comforting her what you can, and if all things in your house (together with what small Jewells she hath, which tho Consisting not in the uttmost to above 5: in 600: Rups: by some beese (*sic*) Rascalls here reported 2: in 3000: Rups:) be seized on the Agents pleasure, in the Condition I am in who can help it, lett her not greeve; one day up, another downe fortunes wheel; if we escape with our lives, enough, if not through trouble and greife it happens otherwise to me. Heaven prepare me accordingly, and lay nothing to the charge of those occationed it. Not else from

"Your ffriend and Servant

"Tho Disconsolate

"THO: HAGGERSTON."

"HUGLEY the 24th
August 1683.

"Come up with speed, if your wife be recovered, if you tender your owne goods or hers."

Then follows, dated Sept. 3rd, 1683:[1]

Indorsed,

"To the Right Worspll: The Agent.

"Right Worsll: Sr,

"According to my best of my knowledge I have drawne out an Accot. as exact as possible, maybe if there proves any small matter more it is at your

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[1] O.C. 4969.

Worship's Service, if your Worship pleases to lett me know when you next write for BALLASORE I will give you an order for the Pepper money, and Beetle nutt money if received, the 963: rups: Capt. UDALL will pay. I shall also send up for the Shipps Acco[ts] that your Worship may be sattisfyed in that Perticular. As for Ready money I engeniously declare I have nott a Rupee in the World more than what your Worship was pleased to take from me, which I brought up for charges here and left 100 at home with my wife for house expenses &ca. there. Worshipfull I hope you will be pleased to take it into your Serious consideration the loansome life I lead, how uncomfortable it is, did your Worship thinck it convenient for me to live without at any small house I could take with a guard over me, that I might send for my familly it would be farr Satisfactory to me, or to returne to BALLASORE with ½ a dozen Peons to watch over me there, but I leave all to your pleasure, to which now as at all times I humbley Submitt my Selfe as being

"Rt. Worshipfull your Worship's most obliged humblest
"of Servants at Command
"THO. HAGGERSTON."

After this comes a letter from Hedges and the Council to Balasore Council, dated "HUGLI 8 Sept. 1683, with which they send: "Coppy of Mr. HAGGERSTON'S letter to the Agent, and acct. of all his effects, as he pretends, wherein you will find Rs. 963 which you are to demand and receive of Mr. UDALL". . . .

"The Inventory of Mr. HAGGERSTON'S goods you have secured at BALLASORE falls short of what we expected, and were in hopes you would have found there; all that's of value you must keepe for the vse of his creditors; but clothes and other trifling household necessaries you may returne to the woman he calls his wife, and send the rest all up to us per the *Goodhope*, to be sold by the outcry; the ½ of the *Adine* Pincke must be likewise secured."[1]

Later, dated "HUGLY *the* 13*th October* 1683.[2]

"Mr. EDMUND UDALL,

"Please to pay or cause to be pd: unto the Right Worp[ll]: the Agent and Councells order the Some of Rup[s]. 2000, one thousand whereof Scicka and the other old, which you received of my Banian PERAWN on acco[t]: Pepper sold: pray make punctuall payment when demanded of you, and you will oblige me, this being the sufficient dischardge for doeing, fro:

"Your friend and servant
"THOMAS HAGGERSTON."

"Hughly the 13th October 1683."

(Ordered by Agent and Council to be paid to Mr. Fitzhugh and Council.)

From HUGLY Council and Balasore 17th Nov. 1682.[3]

"Mr. HAGGERSTON made his escape ouer our factory wall two or 3 days since, and has carried 3 Soldiers with him. If you heare of him in yr. parts Secure his person."

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[1] O.C. 4971. [2] O.C. 4979. [3] O.C. 4991.

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The same to the same, 26th Dec. 1683.[1]

"We take notice you have received. . . . in all 2963 on Acco^{t}. of Mr. HAGGERSTON'S Crs. lett it be remitted to us by ye first good Bill you can find."

The same to the same, 22nd April 1684.[2]

"We take notice that HAGGERSTON is secured by the fousdar, and had the impudence to declare the Agent had taken from him three Lack of Rupees, and kept him Prisoner with intention to kill him. We have therefore resolved since he made his escape from us and is fallen into the Moores hands to charge them with the Securing of his person till the Nabobs pleasure be known.

. . . . "The President of SURAT having procured a Letter from the Governour of that place to this Nabob requesting him to aid and assist us for the better securing HAGGERSTON'S person that he may be speedily conveyed to SURAT."

Haggerston next begins to bluster, from under native protection, first at Balasore, and then at Dacca:

(Addressed outside to "MR. FITZHUGH, &ca.")

"The English Companys ffactors
off BALLASORE."[3]

"Gentlemen,

"S^{rs}: I understand you have received an answer from ye agent concerning me: THOS: HAGGERSTON the plantiff, and having allsoe knowledge of the present design for HUGLY I demand and require you in the King of ENGLAND and the Princes name whose country you live in, to make your personal appearance before the Governour here MULLICK BUR COORDAR, to give response for your former false imprisonment, rob'ing plundering and ruining me, and what else I shall lay to your chardge.

"Yours as you Esteeme me

"BALLASORE The
Ultimo Aprill 1684." "THOS: HAGGERSTON."

Then HÚGLÍ to BALASORE, 28th June 1684.[4]

(The postscript of this mentions enclosure of a Perwána of the Nabob directed to Malik Barkúrdár, the Faujdár of Balasore, ordering him to deliver up Haggerston into the custody of Fitzhugh at Balasore Factory, as a prisoner to be conveyed to Surat. Instead of this the Faujdár seems to have sent him to the Nabob at Dacca.

The same to the same, 10th Sept. 1684 (O.C. 5200):

"Whether the Government will keep HAGERSTON or bring him up is not much to us. But give no such writeing as is demanded for the Receipt of his body. If a Receipt that you have him and will use your indeavour to send him safe to us will satisfy, you may give it."

From Hugly letter to Balasore, 24th March. 168$\frac{4}{5}$:[5]

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[1] O.C. 5001.
[2] O.C. 5142.
[3] O.C. 5148.
[4] O.C. 5164.
[5] O.C. 5349.

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"We have expected HAGGERSTON here a month since, being advised that he had obtained a Perwanna of the Nabob to have his acc'. examined, haveing charged us with takeing from him to the amount of 170,000 Rups. Soe great a friend is MELLICK BOORCAR DAR to him that he dos all he can for him, and Soe recommended him to DACCA, that Mr. POWNSETT could doe little against him . . . . when HAGGERSTON was in HUGLY wee gave MELLECK BOORCAR DAR an acct: of what wee have received, and how disposed of it, but that Villian is believed, or they pretend to believe him, against all that wee say. . . ."

He then appears to have tried to make capital out of his case against the English authorities with Aurangzeb himself, as we gather from the appended extract of a letter from CHARNOCK and ELLIS, as Council of the BAY, dated from "LITTLE TANNA, 10 Sept. 1687."[1]

"HAGGERSTON has been with the King in the Camp, and procured a Phirmaund on a Rajah for 30,000 Rupees; has Submitted him Selfe to us, and begged Pardon, and offers to give a Writeing against any Pretentions he can make against us, upon account of former business, but wee think not Convenient to seize him at present, without further advice from your Excellencies &ca., not knowing what the Government may Pretend on us on that account."

Some years afterwards I find Haggerston attesting a document at Surat, apparently in rehabilitated respectability; but I have mislaid the reference.

HARDING, JAMES. Nominated Writer, along with Ellis and Trenchfeild, in Nov. 1671, but was removed from the service previous to 3rd Jan., 167$\frac{8}{9}$ (Hedges says "for Blasphemy and Athistical tenetts"), when the Court ordered "NURSE and HARDING" as suspended persons and disorderly, to be sent home. He appears, however, to have been taken into private service by Job Charnock at Kásimbázár, but being complained of by members of the factory as a person notoriously scandalous in life and conversation (and as "a most turbulent violent spirited fellow"), Hedges "ordered him not to eat at the Company's table; and reproved Mr. Charnock for entertaining so vitious a person". To which Job said little or nothing; "resolving, I suppose", says Hedges, "to . . . admit him again as soon as I leave the Factory". A petition being further presented against Harding by Catchpoole and others, he was ordered to be dismissed from the factory; a circumstance which certainly would not tend to conciliate the powerful Charnock (pp. 78, 80-81). Harding afterwards apparently tries to conciliate Hedges (102), and applies for readmission to the Company's service, but is refused by the Agent (pp. 122-123). Charnock, in defiance of Hedges, takes him back at Kásimbázár (130-131); and no doubt, on Hedges' removal, got him reappointed to the service, for he appears in the Consultation Book of Kásimbázár factory for 1685 as a member of the Council there. In

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[1] O.C. 5618.

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No. 2. Wm. Minchin

No. 3. Yo: most humble: Servant.
Alex: Lowdon

No. 4. John Goldsborough

No. 5. Wm. Bridges

No. 6. Fr: Nedham

Your friend & Servant
No. 7. Tho Disconsolato
Tho: Haggerston

No. 8. Sr yor very humble Servt
Wm. How:

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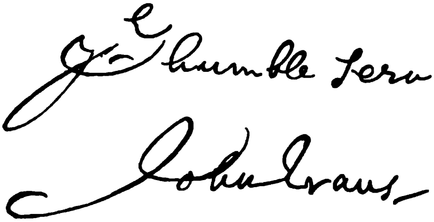
No. 10.



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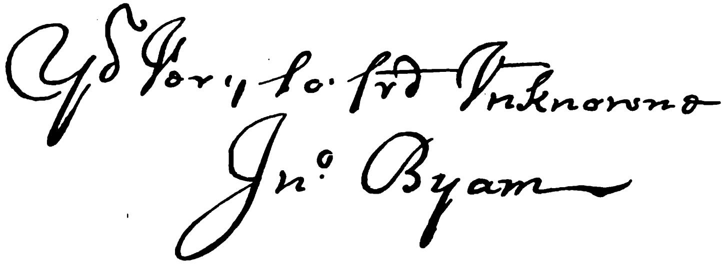

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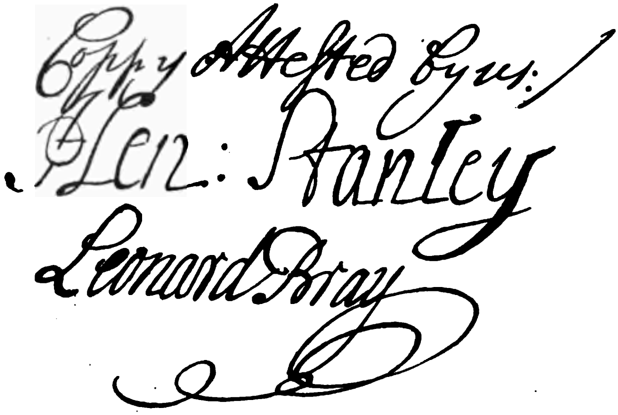

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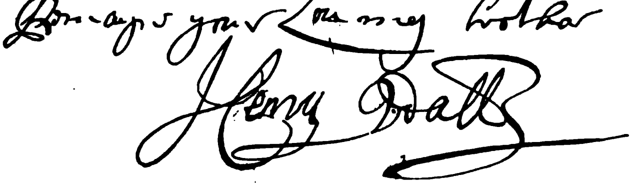

No. 14.

fact, we find the following earlier order from the Court, procured, no doubt, by the all-powerful Job:

To BENGAL, 27th Oct., 1682: "If you find Mr. JAMES HARDING (who hath for severall years been in our service) diligent, able, and faithfull in our concerns, we would have you give him encouragement as he shall be found to deserve."

HARVEY (or HERVEY), SAMUEL. Nominated Factor 13th Oct. 1670, and arrived in 1671. There is a letter from him in the records, written from Húglí to Richard Edwards at Kásimbázár, dated March 6, 1673-4 (O.C. 3943). Chief at Dacca in 1679, when the correspondence shows him under pretty frequent suspicion and censure, and he comes under the Court's animadversion in their letter to Bengal of 20 Sept. 1682, as

"perhaps not altogether innocent, but they are willing to believe the best of him, because he was never guilty of that treacherous and unpardonable sin of compliance with interlopers".

In their letter to Bengal of 18 Nov. 1681, they order the dismissal of Byam, Harvey, and Nedham. But, as regards the first two, this was certainly not carried out, and indeed, in a letter of 25 Jan. succeeding, the Court say:

"In consequence of a letter received from Mr. SAMUEL HARVEY; It is ordered that the said Mr. HARVEY be removed from DECCA, and that he be appointed chief at MAULDA, and fourth of the Councill of the BAY".

He was transferred accordingly by Hedges, but took his departure from Dacca apparently with great reluctance. Hedges, whom any stick was handy to beat, was blamed by the Court for treating Harvey with harshness or suspicion. But after Harvey's death, which must have occurred in the first half of 1683 (see p. 152), we find exceedingly disparaging references to him in the Court's letters, *e.g*, in one to Bengal of 2nd Dec. 1687:

"You did exceedingly well in charging those bad debts at DACCA, which were occasioned by Mr. HARVEY'S gameing, to his account, and if you do justly discharge your Dutyes, we suppose you will find more of that kind both at DACCA and at MAULDA, he being a man that did exceedingly abuse that trust and confidence we reposed in him, which confidence of ours in him was simply grounded upon his constant adherence to Mr. CHARNOCK, which we alwaies found to be the honester side of those old factions in BENGALL, and we will hope that we shall find him yet so honest that he will not fail to discharge his trust faithfully concerning any abuses he knowes done us, either by Mr. HARVEY or his successer Mr. POUNSETT, or any other."

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HEATH, Capt. WM. We have first heard of this officer as commander of the *Defence*, in which Hedges went to India (p. 15). He was afterwards, in 1688, appointed by the Court to take the chief direction of the military operations against the Mahomedan Government. His behaviour in this matter, and the strange impatient futility of his action, has been set forth in the Documentary History of Job Charnock (*supra*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxv). All besides that we know of Capt. Heath is that he was a member of the "Court of Committees" towards the latter days of the Old Company, being elected in April 1698; but as next year he lost his election, in revenge he transferred his services to the New Company, and was elected one of their Directors (*Bruce*, iii, 353-354). He also took a mean advantage of his double position (being an owner of the ship *Neptune* employed by the London Company)—leading to the seizure of a parcel of diamonds on board that ship. This led to an action, which was given in favour of the old Company (*Bruce*, iii, 354). Capt. Heath and his ship *Defence* reappear at Bencoolen, in a letter from that place dated January 1690-91; and (as Mr. Barlow points out to me) Dampier in that year came home from Bencoolen with Capt. Heath in the *Defence*. But he lost the ship eventually "thro' his pride and obstinacy" at the gates of Johnson's wet dock at Blackwall, as we learn incidentally from a pseudonymous letter quoted under Sir HENRY JOHNSON, junr.[1]

HEDGES, Dr. (afterwards Sir) CHARLES. This gentleman is mentioned by William Hedges as one of the friends who met him at Rochester on his arrival from the East (p. 249), and is styled by him "my cousin, Dr. HEDGES".

The exact relation between the two has not till now been ascertained. Le Neve erroneously describes Sir Charles and Sir William Hedges as brothers, but this had been corrected by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[2] At the same time, it is obvious, from the application to the Earl Marshal transcribed in Appendix C. to the biographical notice

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[1] It is but fair to say that Mr. Barlow, a very competent judge of a seaman, takes a more favourable view of Capt. Heath. He writes :—"His navigation in 1682, when off Ceylon July 7 (see Hedges' *Diary*, p. 28), and judging himself west of the Island so correctly, though he had seen nothing since leaving St. JAGO 125 days before, proved him an able seaman; his loss of one sailor only, during a voyage of 170 days from the DOWNS to BALASORE, with apparently more than a fair average of light weather and foul winds,—indicated good management." These remarks deserve to be taken in modification of mine, at p. lxxvi *supra*, as to the circumstances that led to Heath's appointment to command in 1688.

[2] Signing λ. In G. M., *N. S.*, vol. v, 1836, pp. 376-377.

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of Sir W. Hedges (p. xxxvii), that they had a common ancestor in John Lacy. The genealogy also in Appendix A., as extended (p. xxxiii), shows, from a communication kindly furnished by Mr. Thomas Tuckey, of Cork, their true relationship, viz., that they were second cousins.

Charles Hedges was a son of Henry Hedges of Wanborough, Wilts, and of Margaret, daughter of R. Pleydell of Childers, Berks. He was a civilian (in the old technical sense), and at a later date a statesman of some note.

He was educated at Magdalen Hall and College, Oxon.; taking his M.A. degree 31st May 1673, and his LL.D. 26th June 1675. In 1686 he was appointed Chancellor and Vicar-General of Rochester, and in 1689 Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. He was knighted in June 1689. He was chosen M.P. for Orford (Suffolk) in 1698; for Malmsbury in 1701-2; for Calne in 1702; for two Cornish boroughs in 1705-1713.

Under King William he became one of the Principal Secretaries of State, 5 Nov. 1700; and again under Queen Anne, 2 May 1702. He drew up the Act of Abjuration in 1701. In 1706 the Whigs prevailed on Queen Anne to dismiss him from the post of Secretary of State; but it was provided that he should succeed to the Judgeship of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on its becoming vacant. He succeeded to this in 1710. He died in 1714, and was buried at Wanborough.

Henry Maundrell, the well-known traveller in the Levant, and Chaplain of the Factory at Aleppo from 1695, was a nephew of Sir C. Hedges, as appears from several copies of letters from uncle to nephew in Sir C. Hedges' letter-book in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 24,107).

There are half-a-dozen letters from Marlborough to Sir C. Hedges in vols. i and ii of the *Marlborough Despatches*, edited by Sir George Murray.

HEDGES, ROBERT. Nephew of Sir W. Hedges, being son of his only brother, Robert Hedges of Burras, in Queen's County. Nominated factor, 5th October 1681:

> "On the *Resolution* comes to you one Mr. ROBERT HEDGES, who Wee did intend formerly to reside under your Agency, but upon the desire of our Agent HEDGES that hee might have the breeding of him under his Eye, Wee have gratifyed him therein, and have appointed him to goe downe into the BAY" (*Court to Fort St. George*, 8th Feby. 168½).

Named junior of Council at Dacca (*Court Book*, 27th Jan. 1682). He was, however, placed by his uncle at Malda, and shortly afterwards put in charge of the Mint business at Rajmahal (*Diary*, p. 97).

When William Hedges embarked for Persia, his nephew Robert went

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with him, and his doing so was made the subject of strong animadversion on the uncle, and was cast in his nephew's teeth more than twenty years afterwards by Sir E. LITTLETON (see under that article):

"Mr. ROBERT HEDGES (as we are inform'd) being inticed away by his Vnckle, is run away without the knowledge of the Agent or any other person in the Factory, but Dr. HARWAR, who goeing as far as BARNEGUE with Mr. LETTEN, upon his returne tells us he beleives Mr. ROBERT HEDGES will not returne, and wee are confirmed in the beleife that soe it is, by his takeing privately out of the ffactory all his necessaries, some days before he went. The said ROBERT HEDGES hath been intrusted for above twelve moneths at RAJAMAUL, for which trust he hath not given accompt, and is greatly indebted to the Honble Company."

Letter from Húglí Council to Balasore, 5th Jan. 168¾.[1]

He accompanied his uncle on the long overland journey to Scanderoon, and thence to Marseilles and England. In 1699, Robert Hedges went out again in the service of the New or English Company, at first as chief of the factory at Masulipatan, till the arrival of John Pitt, and then as 3rd of the Council in Bengal of their President, Sir Edward Littleton, the other members nominated being our old friend Richard Trenchfeild, and Mr. George Guy. In 1702-3, during the operations for uniting the Companies, when the two rival presidents were placed on a dignified shelf "to wind up the affairs of both Companies", Mr. Halsey of the Old Company, and Mr. Hedges of the New, being first members of the respective Councils, occupied the chair on alternate weeks. Early in 1707 Robert Hedges went home, but came out again in 1710 as second of Council in Bengal,[2] became President there in 1714, and died as such 28th December 1717.

The last consultation at which he appears is that of 19th December 1717. Apparently he was then on the point of returning to Europe, for among the business recorded we find,

"There standing to the Creditt of the Honble. ROBERT HEDGES, Esqr, in the Honble Company's Books the sum of thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seven rupees and one anae, Principall mony, on which the interest computed to this day amounts to nineteen hundred forty-seven rupees and fifteen anaes, together forty thousand fifty-five rupees, for which he desires bills of exchange on the honble: Court of Directors in ENGLAND payable to S^r^: JAMES BATEMAN and Mr. JOHN EDMONDS Mercht: or either of them or their Order thirty-one days after Sight.

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[1] O.C., No. 5292.

[2] "We have for the sake of Method forborn till now to acquaint you with the settlement of our Council in the Bay, which wee have agreed unto as follows, viz.:

Anthony Weltden, Esq., President;
Mr. Robert Hedges, Second."

Court to BENGAL, 9th Jan. 1709-10.

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"Order'd that 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Bills be given him at 2*s.* 9*d.* a rupee amounting to 5507£ 11*s.* 3*d.*"

The next consultation is dated 28th December and bears:

"The Honble: ROBERT HEDGES Esqr: late President having after a Sickness of nine days departed this Life at between six and seven a clock this Evening, and the Worshipfull SAMUEL FEAKE Esqr: being next in Succession Who is now at COSSIMBUZAR It is unanimously Agreed That wee dispatch two Cossids to advise him thereof that if possible he may arrive before the dispatch of the *Duke of Cambridge*, and that during his Absence Mr. JAMES WILLIAMSON take the charge of the Government."

A good deal touching Robert Hedges will be found in the article on Sir E. LITTLETON.

HERON or HERRON, GEORGE (also HERNE). He appears in the Diary as skipper of Company's sloops in the Húglí, and afterwards as chief pilot. A few years later, we find him in command of one of the vessels in Capt. Heath's futile expedition to Chittagong (*supra*, p. xxxv). I have very little doubt that the "Mr. Herring" whose instructions for navigating the Húglí are first given in Thornton's *English Pilot*, ed. 1703, is this George Herron. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Barlow.

HILL, THOMAS, came out as writer in 1678. Died at Rájmahl 3rd August 1683 (see p. 108 of *Diary*).

JEARSEY, W., was a member of the Council of Fort St. George in 1664-65, where he was in strong hostility to Sir Edward Winter, the Governor, who in the middle of the latter year by a singular and successful *coup d'état*, deposed and imprisoned his successor, and reigned as Governor *sui ipsius gratia* for three years more (see under SAMBROOKE). We have not tried to trace Jearsey's part in these dissentions; he appears to have gone in the beginning of 1665 as Chief to Masulapatam, and so continued till 1669-70, when he was removed by the Court's order.[1] He continued after this to reside at

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[1] *Court to* FORT ST. GEORGE, *dated 7th December* 1669: "And for as much as wee are informed, that Mr. WILLIAM JEARSEY hath contemned our Orders, and permitted grosse prophanes, and scandalous vices to be practized in our Factories at MESULAPATAM, to the dishonour of GOD, and discredit of the Protestant religion, and hath carried on a private trade not in INDIA only, but promoted the same, out and home, overating our Goods, and making use of our Stock, for his own private advantage, and finding that he hath made verie short returns of what is come to his hands, and hath neglected to send us his accompts, or any Advices of his proceedings, We have and doe hereby discharge him from his Cheifeship."

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Madras for many years, for we find him still there when Hedges landed on his return voyage in February 1685 (p. 184). The Court's letters frequently allude to Mr. Jearsey and his unsettled accounts, *e.g.*, writing 18 Nov., 1681, they say:

"We do likewise enjoyn you (all excuses set apart) to send home by this years Shipping Mr. Streynsham Master, Mr. John Cholmeley; and Mr. William Jersey, except he do forthwith clear his accompts with us, and pay the balance into our Cash there." . . .

And again, under 20 July 1683, "*overland*":

"We allow your Reasons for not sending home Mr. Jersey, but whether he be able or not Wee cannot suffer him to stay there, if his accompt be not cleared. Therefore whether he be able to pay or not, make presently a finall and clear accompt with him; gett what you can in part, and take his obligation for the rest, upon which give him a full discharge from Us, and take the like from him. If afterwards he proves insolent Wee shall be content to loose the Remainder, but whatever you do, make an end of it that Wee may not be troubled to fill our Letters and Keep our Books open upon such old confus'd occasions."

JOHNSON, SIR HENRY, Senr. An eminent ship-builder and ship-owner at Blackwall, often a member of the Court of the East India Company, and M.P. for Aldborough; often mentioned in the Court Books of the Company during the Commonwealth (*e.g.* under 5 Jany. 165½) and subsequently knighted by Charles II in his own house 1679-80. Died 1683 and buried at Poplar.

There is a book of letters received by him and his son Sir Henry, Junr., in the British Museum Library (Add. MSS. 22,186) from which the two letters of Hedges printed on pp. xl, xliv *supra*, are extracted.

There are some notices of Johnson in Pepys's Diary:

(22d Sept. 1665) "To the office but was called away by my Lord Brouncker and Sir J. Minnes, and to Blackwall, there to look after the Storehouses in order to the laying of goods out of the East India Ships when they shall be unladen. That being done we into Johnson's house, and were much made of, eating and drinking." (And then a notice of Mr. Johnson's digging up perfect nut-trees from 12 feet under ground, with the nuts, and a yew-tree with the ivy, etc.) iii, 254, ed. 1876.

Again:

(28 March 1667) "Thence to Blackwall, and there to Mr. Johnson's to see some works upon some of our repaired Ships go on, and at his house eat and drank, and mighty extraordinary merry, too merry for me whose mother died so lately, but they know it not, so cannot reproach me therein though I reproach myself." iv, 282-3.

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JOHNSON, SIR HENRY, Junr. Son of the preceding and successor apparently in his business; M.P. for Aldborough, like his father; also an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, and knighted on 18 March 1683. He was often chosen one of the 24 Committees of the old East India Company, viz., every year from 1684 to 1690, and again from 1698 to 1701. In 1697 he married Martha Lovelace, daughter and sole heir of John Baron Lovelace, who became Baroness Wentworth in 1697 by succession to her grandmother, sole heir of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland; one of those marriages *à la mode* between the aristocracy and rich city families which seem to have been so numerous at that time, and are typified in Hogarth's Series.

He died 1719 and was buried at Tuddington.

One cannot indeed judge of the manners of a man of that age by his grammar and spelling (witness Dundee), but we should gather from Sir H. Johnson's letters that he had not much education. The British Museum collection contains numerous letters from him to Lord Strafford, who had married his daughter.[1] Here is a sample, dated London, Sept. 4th, 1712:

"I am wrighting this in your Bed Chamber by my Deare Dafter[2] w^{e}: I hope will bring an Aire to your Lordships Estate. . . ."

And again:

"My Ld. depend upon itt y^{t} I shall allways make your Interest minde and should be Glad to see ye Happy day of your ffinishing your Embassye wth ye glourious Peice y^{t} you have all most ffinished and y^{t} you may be Rewarded according to your merritt for itt wch all Honest men are for and then I hope I shall see you Eatte y^{r} Grapes of your Owne Viniard and Sett both you and your ffamily vnder your Owne ffigg Tree, your most affectionate ffather

"and sincere humble serv^{t}

"H. JOHNSON."

Once more:[3]

"BRADENHAM, Octob^{r} 31, 1716.

"My Deare Lord,

"I Rec^{d}: Your Ld$^{p's}$; with a Greate Deale of Joye of my Deare Dafters Breading, I doe assure you I shall keep itt as a Greate Secritte Till itt discovers itt Self. I sent her One to LONDON by my Man who brought me Yours, and I cannot forebear Answering itt immediately to Wish you Much Joy of itt, as itt is very much to me; pray Take care when you doe come up not to Travill to

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[1] "Swift says that Lord Strafford received a fortune of £60,000 with his wife. She certainly brought him, on her father's death, some valuable estates, including Treston in Suffolk, and the borough of Aldborough." (*The Wentworth Papers*, etc., by J. J. Cartwright, M.A., 1883, p. 29.)

[2] This spelling of *daughter* must surely be an indication of the writer's pronunciation of the word.

[3] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 49.

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Harde, but come up sloely both for hir sake and Deare LADY ANNA, I bage of you to give my Blessing to y^m: and except ye Same your Self from

"Your most affectionate

"ffather and humble Servant,

"H. JOHNSON."

The following are specimens of Lady Strafford's own correspondence, from Mr. Cartwright's book:

"St. Jamess Square Jany. 18, 1712"(13).

* * * * * * *

"'Twas carried by a great majority for sending Mr. WALPOLE to the Tower; My father is very tite to the court party, which I am very glad of he sate in the house of Commons till almost past twelve a clock last night to give Mr. WALPOLE a helping hand to the TOWER." . . . .

"March 25, 1712"(13).

* * * * * * *

"My father is layd up with the gout: I believe I shall jumble my guts out between this and RUSSELL STREET, for since my father has been ill I have gone every day."

In the *Johnson Papers* (B. M. Add. MSS 22, 186) is a pseudonymous letter signed *Samoth Report* ("Thomas Porter"), dated June 10th, 1709, which remonstrates in very strong language with Sir Henry Johnson on his conduct towards his cousin-german, Mr. B. Johnson, in regard to a legacy under the will of Sir H. Johnson, senior, which seems to have been withheld, *e.g.*, ...

"But you being a great and wealthy Person make Precedents tho' noe Gentleman or Man of honour or Common Honesty will transcribe or Imitate them. . .

"I knew Sr H. JOHNSON your good Father. He was a Person of Probity and Integrity, and a great Benefactor of the Inhabitants of BLACKWALL and POPLAR, and many other Persons, and left a good name. May you at last *Patrizare*."

A letter from Governor THOMAS PITT to Sir HENRY JOHNSON, dated Fort St. George, Feb. 13th, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, begins:

"I heartily congratulate you on being one of the New Committee, and am glad I have so good a friend there. . . . Capt. BAYNES (who has been extreamly oblidging to me, and very dilligent and carefull in the Company's service) will deliver you a small token of which I beg your acceptance. Sir, I assure you, 'twas made up and markt, before any newes of alteration[1] (as he will acquaint you), tis upon ye account of pure friendship and old acquaintance." . . .

{ "HJ. A small bundle of q^{ts}
one superfine long cloth
& one do Madrass chints."

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[1] *I.e.*, I suppose, before news of Sir Henry's election to the Court.

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JOHNSON, WILLIAM. Son of Sir Henry, Senr., and brother of the subject of the last article. Nominated Factor 19th October 1681, and associated in Hedges' Commission as junior member of the Húglí Council. Permitted by Court's order (16th Nov.) to ship with him foreign bullion, freight-free, to the value of £1,500. Went out apparently in the *Defence* with Hedges.

He was one of the few of the Company's servants who seem to have been on friendly terms with Hedges, and gave him his support. But it was his action in making Hedges acquainted with the contents of a letter of Mr. Beard's to Sir Josia Child (how come by does not appear) that led the Agent to the detention of that letter and to his dismissal (see p. xviii, *supra*).

In reference to his conduct the Court write (to Bengal, 21st Decr. 1683):

> "Mr. JOHNSON we look upon as a young man whose heat and youth was intemperately drawn in and managed by Mr. HEDGES, not for his good, but for Mr. HEDGES's own endes and designs; and therefore, as well as in respect to his Father deceased, who hath left him a great estate, we doe not require you to send him home, but leave him his liberty to come home or stay at his own pleasure."

He did go home, for we find him among those who went to meet Hedges at Rochester, on the latter's arrival from the protracted journey overland (p. 249). It was apparently long, before Johnson returned to the East. He was, I doubt not, the WILLIAM JOHNSON who appears as one of the chosen 24 "Committees" of the Company in 1690, but whose election was not repeated another year. In 1698 we find him engaged in electioneering at Dunwich, and he speaks of being invited to stand for Orford.[1] Possibly he had made away with his "great estate", for under 10th Novr. 1699, we find the Court's instructions "to WILLIAM JOHNSON, Esquire, supra cargo of the ship *Wentworth*, bound for CANTON, CHINA, and Mr. JOHN HILLER, his assistant". And Governor Pitt, writing from Fort St. George to Sir Henry Johnson, 20th Septr. 1700, whilst acknowledging a "noble present of a Butt of Sherry", speaks of "your brother WILLIAM" as having "gone out for China, and having arrived safe at BATAVIA". A few months later (29 Jany. 1700-1), he writes: "Your Brother was safe arriv'd at CANTON."

In the same collection, a letter to Sir H. Johnson from Joseph Bachelor and Company at Madeira, 11th April 1717, speaks of

> "a pipe of choice Vidonia, shipt by order of Governour JONSON your brother for your good self; also 2 quarter casks, one of Malmzey, the other Vidonia for

[1] In H. Johnson's Letter Book in B. M., Addl. MSS., No. 22,186.

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your Brothers Lady . . . Your Brother W. JOHNSON Esq. did us the honour during his stay here to accept of what accom: our house afforded".

I have not been able to ascertain how William Johnson came to be styled *Governor*, or whither he was bound at this time. He was not governor of any Indian Presidency, nor of St. Helena, Fort St. David, or Bencoolen. But he may have been governor of one of the Settlements on the Guinea Coast. The following letter shows that he was connected with the African Company:

To LORD STRAFFORD, *dated* 19*th Nov.* 1716;[1]

"My Lord,

"Since I was with your Lordship I find some people have a mind to run down the Stock, so I have not ventured to buy any for you, nor would I advise your Lordship to buy any yett, and therefore I will not send my Coach tomorrow morning as you were pleased to order, nor shall I expect to have the honour of seeing your Lordship tomorrow morning att the Royal AFRICAN House, who am

"My Lord
"Your Lordship's
"Most humble servt:
"WM. JOHNSON."

LAKE, Captain. Mentioned at pp. 90, 128, 135 of *Diary* as Commander of the *Prudent Mary*, as a "great Dissenter" and ally of Interlopers. He died in confinement at Siam, as reported in Fort St. George letter to Surat, 8th March 1686-7.

Also a letter from Sir E. LITTLETON to the Court of the ENGLISH Company dated "from the ISLE OF COXE'S in the River of HUGLEY the 28th January 1703-4," treating of the murder of one JOSEPH HARRISON by ALEX. DELGARDNO, a "Reputed SCOT", says that on a former occasion, the latter,

"being in the Service of the King of SIAM (or of FAULCON, the Grand Favourite) . . . . made Use of his arms in that Service (with some Others) for the Treacherous Seizing Capt. LAKE, who at that time had the King of ENGLAND'S Commission, as also a Commission from Sr. JOHN CHILD who was Commissiond as General of all the Forces in INDIA. The said Capt. LAKE being afterwards either Murthered or dying for want of Necessary Care and maintenance in Prison (as is suppos'd) under the Charge of this DELGARDNO."

LANGLEY, SAMUEL. Nominated Writer to the Bay, 7th Septr. 1681, "to be at the direction of Mr. Hedges" (*Court Book* of the date).

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[1] B.M. Add. MSS. 22,221, f. 5.

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LETTEN, NATHANIEL (or NATHANAEL). Son of Mr. John Letten; admitted as Factor, 30th Decr. 1681. He is called *nephew* by Hedges, but we do not know how. He accompanied Hedges to Persia, intending apparently to go on to Europe with him; but at Bagdad received letters from his father desiring his return to Bengal (*Diary*, p. 223).

I have not come upon a report of his death, but 10th June, and 16th July, 1691, there are notices of a box of papers and accounts of Nathaniel Letten, factor deceased, to be examined (*Court Book* of the dates).

LITTLETON, EDWARD (eventually Sir Edward). Nominated Factor 13th October 1670; arrived in India 1671; was in 1679 chief of Kásimbázár Factory. Previous to this he stood well with the Court, and obtained their high commendation in their postscript to a letter of which I have mislaid the reference:

> "Having formed a very good Character of the ability and faithfulness of Mr. Ed: Littleton, and his skilfulness in the Silk Trade, wee did entertain him upon that Accompt, and doe now hear that he performs well in that affair at Cassumbuzzar, wherefore wee would have you continue [him] there and not remove him to any other Countrey, and to give him all just encouragement by advancing him in quality degree and Sallary, according to our Rules and his deserts, and when we have a further accompt of his actings in Our business wee shall consider to gratify him for his extraordinary care and paines. . . ."

But Littleton was not content with this commendation, and the promise thus held out to him. Making haste to be rich, with an unscrupulousness that stuck to him through life, he fell under the severe displeasure of the Court for his dealings with the interlopers, and for other misfeasances, and he was dismissed the Company's service (see *Diary*, p. 90-91, and *supra*, pp. xvi, xxi, also under Robert Douglas, p. cxxv). We do not know what then became of him till 7th September 1698, when he appears as one of the first list of Directors elected by the New, or English, Company. In the following year he proceeded to Bengal as their President there, and as Consul under the grant of King William, the members nominated for his Council being Richard Trenchfeild, Robert Hedges, and George Guy; three at least of the party therefore being thus dismissed or demitted servants of the old Company.[1]

Littleton was knighted before his departure (15th Jan. 1698-9). He arrived at Balasore in July 1699, and thence despatched to Mr. John

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[1] Littleton, in several of his early letters after arrival in India, speaks of the calamitous mortality which had befallen the New Company's servants,

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Beard (Junior), then filling the office of agent for the Old Company at Chatánátí, or Calcutta, the following mixture of blarney and menace:[1]

"Mr. JOHN BEARD

"Dated Ballasore 29th July 99.

"Much Esteemed Friend

"Sr, The Generall herewith to your Self and those in Councill Employ or Commission with you is not in the least from any disrespect to your Self, for whom I have no mean esteem, nor to any of the rest who are known to mee only by name or employ, but intirely to represent unto you the true state of the case, being it may be supposed you have not had any full account thereof from your employers except by the *Antelope*, this affair of the Consulship being transacted as I take it, cheifly after the departure of your Ships, and to prevent any unhappy occurrence which might otherwise perhaps succeed, nor is there any design in the least therein to embarrasse or obstruct the currency of your affaires, as in practice you will find, nor create any difference between us, but rather a firmer and stricter Friendship and correspondence, and will certainly prove so if no failure on your part, which I will not suspect. I must profess an absolute ignorance of your Employers orders or designes, but as a reall ffriend I do take upon mee to advise you that whereas upon the arrivall of Ships particular there hath been frequently application made to the Government against them, and odious calumnies cast upon them which probably may have caus'd recriminations and have all tended not only the National prejudice but even to [that of] Christianity itself. Wee are now come on Parliamentary Sanction, the greatest Authority our Nation affords, So may not expect any Such usage, however think it not amiss that you are warned thereof for the resentment of our Employers for Such Actions may be Such as may cause the end to prove very bitter and possibly fatall to the Actors nor can you think but wee Shall be as vegorous on our part

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before or immediately after the termination of the voyage. A return of these deaths is preserved in India Records (O.C. 6710):

Mr. GEORGE GUY, (the Councillor above named) died at KEDGEREE Point, ...	20th Sept.	1699
RICHARD TRENCHFEILD never joined, dying at MADRAS about	3rd October	„
On board the *Antelope* (in which the party went out) died LITTLETON NEEDHAM	5th Sept.	„
Dr. FULK LACEY (Surgeon)	10th „	„
Mr. JAMES CURTIS at BALASORE	21st August	„
HENRY BIGLAND (Surgeon's Assistant) ...	30th „	„
THOMAS EVANS „	3rd Sept.	„
CAPT. W. HELDER „	24th „	„
EDWARD TENCH, Pilot	28th Nov.	„
DR. THOMAS PENDLETON "Our designed Chyrurgeon in the Bay"	Dec.	„
Mr. THOMAS KENN at HUGLY	28th Nov.	„
And 6 more between	Sept. and Dec.	„

[1] O.C. 6690.

as you Shall be Vehement on yours nor will our hands wax weaker but Stronger Dayly.

"The affaires of the Durbar with respect to the English Intrest will center in the Consull, So to be foreborne by all others, also all Passes for Ships, So that you will do well to let Such know thereof least they do bring them Selves under some disappointment.

"You must needs know that at our first coming wee are to Seek for (?):[1] needful things especially Small vessels and Pilots. I am not for withdrawing any Mens Servants against their Masters consent, but yet had rather our own Countrymen doe reap the benefit then aliens. So that if you think not fit to Spare any your Self yet it may not be imprudent not to hinder any others but should be willing thereto. Know not how to Speak so plain in this matter as otherwise I might being a stranger to your circumstances and directions, but am well assured nothing will be done of service to our Employers by any persons but will Surely meet with very gratefull acceptance and remuneration.

"I ad not more. Let not what is offered with the Right hand be received with the Left: "I am

"Your Reall friend and humble Servant

"EDWARD LITTLETON."

Littleton and his colleagues took up their headquarters at Húglí. I add the following, written half a year later:

From Sir EDWARD LITTLETON *to the* DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Dated "HUGLY the pr° Jany. 1699" (1700).[2]

"May it please your Highness

"The Duty of the Station his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to place mee requiers my corresponding with and giving your Highness Acct: of what passes here relating to his Majesty and my Employ under his Majesty.

"As soone as I arrived in these parts I gave Notice to the Gentlemen residing here on behalfe of the Old East INDIA Company of the Character his Gracious Majesty was pleased to give mee but in answer they tooke noe notice of his Majesty's Character (? Charter) but to disowne any power his Majesty had on that account, and would owne noe Authourity but what came from their Masters, upon my comeing up to this place I passed by their Chiefe Factory, and hauing his Majesty's Flagg at the Top of our Mast they were soe far from takeing notice thereof in the Least that tho' its usual for them to spread their Colours on the Least Vessels passing by, Yett now in meere affront to the Consular Dignity they not only forebore to spread any Coulours themselves, but prevented all Shipps of ENGLISH there, of which there were diverse, from taking any notice of the Kings Flagg alwayes usuall heretofore, and they hauing at that time a Servant of the New Company in their Factory, on his Complaint, I sent two of my Company to demand his Liberty, which was not only refused but on the 20h September, being three dayes after, fixes a pestilent Paper upon the Gate of the Factory of very trayterous import, a true Copy whereof goes herewith by which your Highness will perceive what sorte of Subjects the ENGLISH in the old Companies Service are, and his Majesty will alsoe see how much his Authority is here

[1] A contraction, which I fail to interpret.

[2] O.C. 6814.

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Villified by those to whome on many accounts he had been exceeding gracious, even to Admiration. I shall not trouble your Highness further at this time, another oportunity more secure being at hand. I am

"Your Highnesses Most Obedient Servt:

"EDWD: LITTLETON."

I have not found Beard's reply to Sir Edward's letter of July 29, but the tenor of it is gathered from a letter of Beard and his Council to Surat dated "CHUTTANUTTA, 9th of August 1699":

"The 4th of last month the *Antelope* arriv'd in BALLASORE Road with Sr EDWARD LITTLETON, President for the New Company's Affaires, and he sayes Consull for the ENGLISH Nation, having the King's Commission...... One answer to him in generall that we will espouse our Masters Interest according to orders received from them, and thought it [more] proper to manage the Durbar business for our Rt H. M.'s Affaires then to address him, since we had better footing ... withall we assur'd him we would not represent his Interest in falce colours to the Govt, as his ffriends had maliciously done our Masters in SURATT, yet if he begun we would not cross cudgels with any contenders..... We are not att all surprized with these matters, which may make a noise for a time, and att last a trade will center in the old bottom again." ...

I have no intention of pursuing the miserable details of the jealousies and struggles between the agents of the Old and New Companies, the former settled at Calcutta, and the latter at Húglí, nor, beyond what a few extracts of correspondence, selected from a great mass of the like matter, will exhibit, of the somewhat complicated arrangements which attended their union. The particulars of these will be found in Bruce's *Annals*, vol. iii, pp. 486, *seqq.* Let it suffice to say here that the arrangements involved to a certain extent the subsistence of both Companies for seven years, after which both, with their stock and dead stock, were to merge into THE UNITED COMPANY. Three Courts or bodies of Directors existed during this interval, viz., the Court of *Committees* of the Old or London Company, the Court of *Directors* of the New or English Company, and the Court of *Managers* which temporarily conducted the united trade.

"The approbation", says Bruce, "which the Court (of the English Company) had expressed ... of Sir EDWARD LITTLETON's conduct in Bengal, a similar approbation having been given by the London Company to that of President BEARD, explains the difficulty which the Court of Managers experienced in adjusting the pretensions of these officers to the Presidency.[1] Therefore ... the Court of Directors of the English Company informed their servants in Bengal that, for one year, the office of President had been suspended, and the powers of the United Company vested in a Council of Eight, selected from (? consisting of) the four senior members of each Company, and that an

[1] See English Company's Letters, Aug. 1702, Feb. and March 1702-3.

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equal number of their subordinate servants would be employed in the United Trade, but no new appointments made, till the establishment should be reduced to its ancient standard .... The Consular powers of Sir EDWARD LITTLETON were revoked as unnecessary, and his attention, as well as that of Mr. Beard, was directed to make up the separate accounts of the respective Companies."[1] Sir E. LITTLETON and the servants of the English Company were also directed to withdraw the out-factories, quit Húglí, and retire to Calcutta.

I shall now give a few extracts from Littleton's letters, or the letters of others bearing upon his history.

From a letter of LITTLETON *and his Council at* HUGLI *to the* ENGLISH *Company's President and Council at* SURAT, dated 4th June 1700:[2]

"The *Chambers* Friggat, Capt. SOUTH, arrivd here the 22d past acco' the Old Company in 4 months 18 dayes from CALES,[3] and the *Fame*, Capt. BROWNE, the 27th, bringing a new President for the Old Company, Sr CHARLES AYRES, theire Agent that went home in 1698, with a traine of severall Persons of whom we have yett noe account. One of our Masters Shipps, the *Tankerville* Friggat, came out with the latter for these parts, but not arriv'd. There was noe conjunction, nor any(thing) like it, soe it seemes the Old Company will make their greatest traffic and effort this yeare, having Six Shipps that come this Wayes." ...

In an imperfect letter of immense length, dated "Hugly, the 16th Novr. 1600", to the Court of the English Company, Littleton and his Council, replying, among manifold subjects, to certain remarks or orders of the Court regarding marriages with natives, write:[4]

.... "taking JENTUES meets often with great trouble alsoe, tho' but very poor people having all of them Husbands very early, who tho' they cohabit not, yet on such occasion apply to the Government where its never ended but with great charge and trouble. As in the Case of Mr. JOB CHARNOCK and the Woman hee kept tho' of a meane Cast, and great poverty, which occasioned great trouble and Charge to the Company a long while at PATTANA, and afterwards some alsoe at CASSIMBUSSAR. It's alsoe of very ill consequence that your Covenant Servants should intermarry with any of the people of the Country or those of mixed Race or *Mustechees*, therefore we desire your Honour would continue it as a Standing Rule that none Doe Rise in your Service, or rather bee not Retained in your service a Covenant Servant, as Factore or Merchant, that shall marry with any of the Country not of EUROPE parents, but immediately bee Discharged from being either Factor, Merchant or higher quality. Writers if not to advance, or Sailors or Soldiers of noe higher Quality then Sergeant, may be permitted if your Honour shall thinke fitt, as is Amounge the DUTCH, tho' amounge the DANES its otherwise, they being all suplyed with EUROPE Women.

.... "Of all years this has been the most famous or rather infamous for

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[1] Bruce, iii, 514-15.

[2] O.C. 7087.

[3] The old English form of *Cadiz*.

[4] O.C. 7206.

runn awayes Such as never were knowne in these parts before. Your Honours Chaplaine put on board the *De Grave* and approved by the Bishop of London, as hee saith, and whom he esteems his great friend and patron and very good Lord, runn away herefrom and left the Ship and is entred into the Enemies Camp and there remains. Wee understand hee is a very lewd Drunocken Swearing person drencht in all manner of Debaucheries and a most bitter enemy to King William and the Present Gouvernment, and Since he did runn away wee are pleased hee hath taken his Quarters with them that he may not Influence any your servants with his emoralities or Doctrines, one whereof is that he is exempt from secular Power, There were alsoe a Couple of most Lewd women that Capt. Young brought over in his Ship, Wifes to the Coocke and his mate, by what authority or for what purpose wee cannot tell, they alsoe left the Ship about the same time with the Chaplaine, Soe that the Captain Stockt the Country with an Intire Plantation such as it was, parson and people Bretheren and Sisters. . . . Wee pray your Honours some effectuall course may betaken for the Preventing these and the like infamous Scandalls to our Nation and Religion, and that these parts bee not Stockt with such persons." . . .

Littleton's conduct of affairs almost from the first appears to have been in the highest degree neglectful, and before long unfaithful; the accounts of his transactions for the Company were either never kept up, or were kept back in order to conceal their character, and the Company's capital in considerable amounts was invested in speculations of his own, often by advances made nominally to natives who were his creatures and agents. Both his colleagues at Húglí and the Directors at home gradually got out of patience with his neglect and misconduct.

The first extract, a letter from Littleton's colleagues in the Council, may serve to introduce the history of his defalcations. The two next extracts are from Consultations of the Council at Húglí, and refer to disguised advances on Littleton's own account, such as have been just alluded to:

To the Honble. the Directors of the English *Company.*[1]

Dated, "Hugly the 11th Decr. 1703.

"Honble Srs:

"Wee did by the *Degrave*, *Bengall Mercht*, and *Upton Galley*, in Letters directed to Samuel Shepard and Gilbert Heathcote Esqrs. of which herewith you will receive Coppies, pretty evidently Shew how it came to pass that the Honble Companys Goods bought in Hugly were generally dearer and worse than other Europeans bought, and that wee had more trouble with the Government in Hugly than any other Nation, to which wee beg you'll please be referr'd. Wee did not then venture to direct these Leters imediately to the Court of directors, doubting wee might possibly be mistaken in the Calculation of debts due to the Company, or in Som assertion concerning our President Sr: Edwd. Littleton, and wee thought a small mistake, if wee chanc'd to make any, wou'd be more Excusable directed as wee did it, then if our address had been directly to the whole Court. But finding on Mature Consideration all we

[1] O.C. 8213.

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wrote Concerning him was short of what might Justly have been Said, wee are no Longer Scrupelous in the matter.

"When you see the Generall books of this Factory for the 4 years past (which God be praised are finished and shall be sent you by the *Tankervill*) you will finde our President Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON had Litle reason to wish them made up, for it will evidently Appeare he cou'd not belive it his Intrest that the Court of Directors Shou'd know the Present State of the Companys Accounts in HUGLY, Consequently it may be Suppos'd that he kept the books back as Long and as much as was in his power, and the Long time he kept the Accounts of Charges Concealed in his Own hands does Manifestly prove he did Soe."

The letter goes into many details of Sir Edward's malversations which we cannot follow. It is signed by ROBT. HEDGES, JONATHAN WINDER, and BENJAMIN BOWCHER.

"At a Consultation" (of the English Company's Council at Húglí)

"26 March 1703-4.[1]

"GOSSERAM and GURDAS MUSSUND appearing considerably in debt to the Honble: the ENGLISH Company, Trading to the EAST INDIES: and the Council doubting their Abilityes; the President, Sr EDWARD LITTLETON does hereby acknowledge Himself Security for the Same, and does oblige Himself to make good to the said Honble: Company, what Sum or Sums soever may happen to be lost by either of their Accounts.

"WILLIAM CHAMPION Secry.

"We testify that this is truly transcrib'd and that the President has sign'd it in the Original book, tho' He refus'd to sign it Here.

"ROBT: NIGHTINGALE
"A. KING."

"ROBT: HEDGES
"JONATHN: WINDER
"BENJ: BOWCHER."

Again:

"At a Consultation. "Tuesday 4th July 1704.[2]

"Present—Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON Kt. President.
. . . . [etc.]

"The President having given A note under his Hand dated the 30th April 1704, for Rs: 23 808 : 3—being the Principal, (and) Interest due on A note, payable to UMMEECHUND, the said Note was deliver'd into Mr. HEDGES's possession:—Order'd, that the Said Summ be Transferr'd from the Debit of UMMEECHUND,[3] to the Debit of the President.

"A: KING Secy.

"I do testify that this is truly transcrib'd, and that the President has Signed it in the Original book, tho' he refus'd to sign it Here.

"A. KING Secy."

"ROBT: HEDGES
"JONATH: WINDER
"ROBT: NIGHTINGALE
"BENJ: BOWCHER."

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[1] O.C. 8169.

[2] O.C. 8271.

[3] This seems to be the same name as that of the famous OMICHUND of Clive's history; a name the form of which has been rather a puzzle.

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Next we give the letters of the Court, which crossed that of Sir Edward's colleagues that we have just given (of 11th December 1703), and which reply to their account of the President's persistent obstructiveness, as given in previous letters to individual members of the Direction:

"*The Court of Directors of the* ENGLISH *Company to* S^r^. EDWARD LITTLETON *and the rest of the Councill for the Separate Affairs of the* ENGLISH *Company, etc., in the* BAY.

(Dated 10th January 1703-4.)

"Altho' our first instructions to you were so positive concerning the due keeping and transmitting to us your bookes of accounts, and that we have Since pressed you so extraordinarily for them, yet to our admiration wee remain still without them, which is such a reflection on our management, but more imediately on yours, as it is very strange you are not ashamed of, especially considering the By law of the Generall Court which enjoyns 'That the bookes of this Companies affaires in INDIA Shall once every year be ballanced in every of the said Companies ffactories, and Copyes thereof, Signed by the Chief and Councill of each ffactory, Sent to ENGLAND by the first conveniency following, under the penalty of the persons being dismist from the service of the Company, who shall refuse or neglect so to doe'—Copy whereof we have sent you And a Committee being appointed every year to examin into the execution of the By laws, it is no little trouble to us to find our selves obliged to give them for answer, That wee cannot gett the account from you, tho' wee have received them from all our other ffactories. This unaccountable negligence of you does very much disgust us, and must render you unworthy your stations and employments, to the Generall Court, as well as to us . . . .

"Upon the whole wee are very much displeased at your unexcusable Supiness and Sloth, and Sorely vexed, when wee are told by Severall of our members without doors of your mismanagements, as that our money is for by ends sold, when by coining it for our account, we should have gained considerably, that there are particular favourites amongst the Merchants you deal with whose goods will pass at extravagant prizes, when others much better are rejected, That quarrels are Sett on foot on purpose to find oppertunities of going to the *Dubar*[1] to appease them, which allwaies is with a present, That mony is pretended to be paid months before it is entred in the Cash, That Contracts are made and enforced upon us by Single persons without the concurrence of the Councill, and many other things, all which have been done contrary to our positive orders and direction.

* * * * * * *

"There is another thing wee have heard which wee must take notice of, vizt: your dissensions, Severall of them relating to power, which do so little concern the Companies interest, that wee wish you had better employed your selves, and those whose province it was to govern had done it with prudence, and those whose it was to obey, had not had reasonable objections to such commands, and if without that, they would have ventured to disobey, wee should have shown them upon such a Complaint our Resentments" . . . .

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[1] *Durbar* is several times so written in the letters from England.

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From the same to Mr. ROBERT HEDGES, Mr. JONATHAN WINDER, Mr. ROBERT NIGHTINGALE, Mr. BENJAMIN BOWCHER:[1]

(Same date.)

"Gent^s:

"Wee have given full directions to the President and Councill for liquidateing all our accounts in the BAY, as well those which may remain unadjusted betwixt the Company and the Merchants wee have dealt with, as those which are open between the Company and any of their owne Agents, of what Degree so ever they bee, and we have particularized severall abuses which . . . . we are very apprehensive have been put upon us by MUTTRADAS and his friends in the management of our affairs at the *Dubar* . . . . And in order thereto wee Strictly enjoyne you to use all fair meanes imaginable to induce Sr. EDWARD LITTLETON to come to a Just accommodation of our affaires transacted by him, wee are not for putting any real Hardship on him or haveing any Publick Difference with him, if Possible to be avoyded, but wee aime at a Just and true account of our owne; and the Satisfaction that wee ought to have thereupon, and it is against our minds there should any Reflection remain on a Gentleman that wee had Intrusted in that Post."

The letter goes on to instruct those gentlemen how, if Sir E. LITTLETON should prove refractory, or obstruct the investigation, they are to proceed as they best can, to secure the Company's property which may be in his hands, and in that case to produce the letter A which is enclosed, and open it in Council, etc.

"Wee are not Ignorant that this will make a great bustle, if not discreetly managed, and with Secresie; and we cannot omitt acquainting you that wee have no designe to affront the Person, or wrong the Estate of S^r. EDWARD LITTLETON, but fairly to have our owne, and Sattisfaction for any Ill he hath done us, wherefore be sure not to use the rough way, if the soft one will do, and unless you can convict him of haveing either by himself or in conjunction with others, defrauded the Company . . . . If you cannot gett the satisfaction wee desire, and wee shall thereupon hereafter think fit to displace Sr EDWARD, wee resolve not to have any succeeding President in our old affaires, but that after Sr EDWARD LITTLETON's decease or suspention they be managed by you our Councill, takeing the Chair, or presiding in the Roome of Sr EDWARD LITTLETON by way of Rotation, That is, Mr. HEDGES to preside the first week, Mr. WINDER the Second week, and so every one of the Councill in his turne, as wee do in our Court of Directors, which way is knowne to most of you."

Letter A runs as follows:

"*To Sr.* EDWARD LITTLETON *President, and the rest of the Councill, &c. dated* 10*th Jan.* 1703-4.

"Gent^s, Wee have thought fitt and do hereby revoke and Annull the Commission granted by the Court of the Directors of the ENGLISH Company . . . . whereby S^r. EDWARD LITTLETON was appointed our President for the BAY of BENGALL, and do direct that the said Sr. EDWARD LITTLETON do no longer exercise the said Authority."

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[1] This might have been addressed "*To the* Separate *Junta of the Councill for the* Separate *Affairs*," etc.

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Then, a year later, on getting further intelligence, the Court wrote again to the four gentlemen of the Council, 18th Jan. 1704-5, blaming them for having so long deferred putting the powers they possessed, as a majority, in action,

"And permitting Sr. EDWARD LITTLETON to make use of our Money, and run so deep in our Debt, as you advise Us he is, and as you have brought us into this *premunire*, We expect you will by all means possible secure us from any Loss that may befall us thereby."

If they had delivered letter A as they ought to have done, he is already dismissed; if not, they are to open in Council the letter now inclosed, whereby they will see he is actually discharged.

We quote the paragraph of the enclosed letter of 18th Jan. 1704-5, which contains this final discharge:

"*The Court of the* ENGLISH *Company to* Sr EDWARD LITTLETON *President and the rest of the Council for the Separate Affairs of the* ENGLISH *Company, &ca. in the* BAY *of* BENGALL."

Dated 18th January 1704-5.

"14. We doubt not but you will before the Receipt hereof have sent home all our remaining effects, and it is time now to think of easing our charges, wherefore we have thought fitt and do hereby revoke and Annull the Commission granted by the Court of Directors of the ENGLISH Company . . . . whereby Sr EDWARD LITTLETON was appointed our President in the BAY of BENGALL, and doe direct that the said Sr EDWARD LITTLETON doe no longer exercise the said Authority, and after he has settled all his Accounts and paid the Balance justly due from him, or given good Security, for the Payment thereof, to the remainder of our Councill or the majority of them, whom we hereby empower to receive the same, he may return for England, or remain there as he sees fitt."

In reference to these affairs in Bengal, Governor Pitt, whose ancient dealings with Littleton in his interloping days have been noticed by Hedges in the *Diary*,[1] thus writes from Fort St. George, February 3rd, 1704-5, to Mr. Robert Raworth in London,[2] one of the Directors of the English Company:

"I am not a little startled at the unaccountable management of your affairs under Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON, who I allways took to be a person of great ability and integrity, but has given large demonstration to the Contrary, haveing as I am told run out your Cash 60 or 70 000 *rupees*, and by other ill management 'tis thought you have Suffer'd twice as much; and 'tis said by misfortunes he is rendered wholy incapable to make you Satisfaction.

"I am sorry for him as an old ffriend, tho' he has been very abuseive and scurillous in his letters to this place."

On receipt of the last quoted letters of the Court of the English

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[1] There is in the B.M. (Add. MSS. 22,851) a letter of Pitt's to Littleton dated April 2, 1700, beginning, "My Good and old Friend."

[2] B.M. Add. MSS. 22,848.

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Company, the Council of that Company's Agency, now removed to Calcutta, record the following consultation:

"Calcutta the 2d November 1705.[1]

"Att a Consultation, Present,

"Mr. Robert Hedges,
"Mr. Jonathan Winder,
"Mr. Robert Nightingale,
"Mr. John Cole—

"The Court of Managers of the United trade in their Commission and Instruction dated the 26th ffebry. 1702 directed to the Gentlemen appointed by them to be the Councill and Managers of all affairs relating to the United Trade, in Bengall, haveing positively Order'd in Case of the death or absence of John Beard Esqr. President for Separate affaires of the Old Company, or Sr Edward Littleton, President for the separate affairs of the New Company that the Successor to either of them in his Presidency shall not Continue to be a Member of the United Council, and Sr. Edward Littleton being yesterday By Order of the Honble. Court of Directors in their letter 18th January 1704, displaced; the Councill for the United Trade did thereupon meett this Morning and by a Vote almost unanimous, Resolved that Mr. Robt: Hedges, must be out of the United Councill, he therefore produc'd the Court of Directors letter dated 10th Jany. 1703, and did read to them the Paragraph which Orders that there shall be no President or Chief after Sr. Edward Littleton in the Councill for the Separate Affaires of the New Company, which they would not think concern'd them or take any Notice of, but urged the Example of President Sheldon's Succeeding President Beard in the Presidency for the Separate Affaires of the Old Company and being out of the United Councill.

"The Consideration of Mr. Hedges being thus out of the United Councill has been the Subject of our thoughts Separately before this meeting, after the United Councill rose, and haveing maturely consider'd the ill Consequences itt may probably Occasion in the Separate affaires of the Honble. New Company except a timely Remedy be found, therefore to prevent those inconveniences as much as possible, 'tis Resolved and Unanimously agreed without the Seeking of Mr. Hedges, that he be desired to accept the Title of Chief or first in Councill for the Separate Affaires of the Honble. New Company, and he is thereby desired to accept of itt, and to act as such, till further Orders from our Honble. Masters, which after many Arguments he Consents to for the following Reasons which were urged to him" . . . . (Not necessary to transcribe the reasons.)

Four days latter we have the following:—

* * * * * * *

"Att a Consultation in Calcutta the 6 November 1705.

"Present (the same as above).

. . . . "Sr. Edward Littleton not haveing delivered upon the Cash Account, nor the Ballance of Cash, when demanded of him the 1st Current, after the Order from the Court of Directors which Displaced him from his being President was read, But then desired time to finish the Account, Ordered that Mr. Hedges, Mr. Winder, and Mr. Nightingale do goe sometime to Morrow, and Demand the Same, allso all the Originall Letters Receipts and

[1] O.C. 8393.

Obligations for mony Contracts with Merchants. They allsoe are to Demand the mony he owes the Honble. Company, particularly the Sum due from him by Note Under his hand which he promised, when he Signed the Note, he would pay in the Country.

"For the easier Management of the Separate affaires of our Honble: Masters, Ordered that the particular Charge of each person in Councill be as follows:— . . . . Mr. ROBERT HEDGES is to continue Accomptant, Mr. JONATHAN WINDER export warehouse keeper, Mr. ROBERT NIGHTINGALE import warehouse keeper, and Mr. JOHN COLE Buxie or Charges Generall-Keeper, till, after the Dispatch of the *Union;* if we Shall find itt convenient or Serviceable in our management of the Honble: Companys affaires after her departure to make any alteration in our Particular business, by Shifting or Changing places with each other. . . . .

* * * * * * *

"From the Council for Separate Affairs of the ENGLISH *Company to the Honble. the Court of Directors.*[1]

Dated "CALCUTTA the 5th December 1705.

. . . . "Soe many at this place doe feel the Severe effects of a very Sickly Season that wee cant spare able hands to copy our letters, and wee cannot doe it our selves without delaying the dispatch of your Ship . . . . Mr. BENJAMIN BOWCHER, Mr. GEO: REDSHAW, Mr. RALPH ELMES and Mr. THOMAS HUMBERSTOCKE are dead, and Severall that seem likely to recover are soe weak that wee cannot expect they will be able to write or doe any business till 'tis too late for the Service of this Monsoon.

"The repeated cautions in your Honours letter dated the 10th January 1703, first to try by fair means to bring Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON to a just account and not to come to extremities with him if wee could avoid it, inclin'd us to believe it our most prudent Course to Suspend for a time the use wee were to make of your Honnours other letter No. A; Another great consideration with us was that his visible Effects in BENGALL bear allmost noe proportion with the great sums he owes your Honnours; soe that we could not have used Letter A to any great Advantage, for these reasons we endeavoured as much as possible to prevent the Necessity of useing it . . . . wee thought it best to wait with patience till wee should receive your second orders by the Ships expected out this year . . . .

"Your Honours will find by our last years letter that wee had made a considerable progress in accounting with S^r. EDWARD LITTLETON in the friendly method your Honours Directed, but since that wee have not been able to doe soe much as we would have done, for it proved impossible (whilst he had the name of President and could make many people believe he should certainly be appointed President for the United Affairs) to Influence those that were his Servants, to Confess such truths as they believed would prejudice him, but now he is out wee hope shall be able to determine all disputes, especially that about the accounts . . . .

"On the 1st day of November wee carryed your Honours letter Dated the 18th January 1704 to Sr EDWARD LITTLETONS, where it was Opened and read in full Councill, he would not seem to expect he was put out of your Honours Service till the 14th Paragraph, which discharged him, was read, Nevertheless wee believe he knew of it before; And wee have reason to Suspect that Mr.

[1] O.C. 8407.

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JOHN BRABOURN from Anjango sent him a Duplicate, which was saved out of the *Neptune*, of No. A . . . . Mr. BRABOURN wrote us the letter was broke open by the Natives at CAPE COMERIN, which we cant contradict, but wee were troubled to hear the Contents of it was for some time the Discourse of MADRASS, as well as of some bussey Impertinents at this place . . . .

* * * * * * *

"On the 2d November the Councill for the United Trade mett and the Majority of them concluded because Mr. SHELDON was out of the United Councill, as Succeeding Mr. BEARD in the Presidency for the Old Companys Affaires, that Mr. HEDGES must alsoe be out, Accordingly they did vote him out . . . . Wee suppose 'twas not your Honours Intent he should be out, when you Ordered S$_r$. EDWARD LITTLETON should have noe Successor in the Presidency. And Mr. HEDGES does not believe that the Councill for the United Trade doe Interpret that part of the Court of Managers Instructions, on which they ground their vote for putting him out, in the plain meaning and Intent of their words . . . .

* * * * * * *

"AUGUSTINE *als*. GUSTAVUS CREED was in your Honours pay, he trumpets but Indifferently, his business was to play on the violin at Dinner, but now Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON is displaced wee have noe need of a Fidler, therefore when his five pounds is earned (for he is poor and wee can get noe money out of him) he must seek another Service.

* * * * * * *

"As soon as Mr. HEDGES came from CASSIMBUZAR in April 1702, he join'd with Mr. WINDER in hearty endeavours to regulate every Mismanagement and the Success did, at least in some measure, answer their endeavours, else your books had not yet been brought up, and it would not have been discovered that S^r: EDWARD LITTLETON continued to get a great deal into your Debt, GOSSYRAM, GURDUSMUSSUND and UMER CHUNDS names would have continued blindes to have Screen'd his contrivances from your knowledge.

"The word GOSSYRAM is a feigned name, made use of to conceal the person that Sr: EDWARD LITTLETON meant by it, that is GEETUE, a young man, the son of his particular Servant ROPERAM. PARAN, ROPERAM's brother, Appeared and Acted all along as Gomastah or ffactor for this feign'd GOSSYRAM, which wee wrote in former letters to your honours. Wee have now got PARAN and GEETUE in Custoddy, and shall endeavour as soon as the Ships are dispatched, to prevaile with them by such means, as the law and Custom of this Countery allows,[1] to discover what yet remaines undiscovered of the Indirect use S^r: EDWARD LITTLETON made of them in the management of your honours Affaires . . . . Wee wish we could find Effects in INDIA to Secure all but that he has not nor any thing near it. And the money he owes your honours is farr from being all he is in debt in BENGALL . . . .

From Sir E. LITTLETON *to* J. WINDER, R. NIGHTINGALE, J. COLE, and J. MAISTER, "*appointed by the Honble:* ENGLISH Company . . . *Sole Managers of their Separate Affairs in* BENGALL."

Dated "CALCUTTA 30th January 1705.

"S$_{rs}$: Yours of the 15th Instant was deliver'd to me the 19th in the afternoon when I was in a Condition not very Capable of reading much less of considering

[1] Qu., some kind of torture ?

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thereof or replying thereto, by severe paines in my bowells lasting some dayes, and Scarce yet thoroughly clear from its Effects whereby was disabled writing you Sooner not having an Amanuensis, soe you will not take its delay amiss.

* * * * * * *

"What justly due from me on a running Account I am and alwayes was very ready, none more, to Adjust and Clear the Same whatever may appear justly due from me as hope you are alsoe if any appears due to me.

"But there being as I take them diverse very Erronious feighned or forged Articles charged in the bookes to my Account by Mr. Robert Hedges on his own head (at that time one of you) which I noe wayes agree unto, but positively deney, its Needfull therefore the same be examined and Adjusted honestly fairly Impartially and expeditiously as may bee," etc., etc.

The rest is occupied chiefly with accusations and insinuations against Hedges. It will be seen that Littleton excludes Hedges from the address of his letter, refusing to recognise him as still of the Council, as will be seen more explicitly in the next extracts. Littleton seems now to have become soured and isolated, as well as hopelessly involved in his circumstances. Especially in regard to Robert Hedges, who had apparently taken the leading part in pressing for his accounts and the clearance of his debts to the Company, as well as in the representations made to the Directors at home, individually and collectively, on the subject, he had become violently embittered, and cast off all decency of language. On the 21st November 1706, the Council, headed by Hedges, had again sought an interview with the ex-President and delivered a letter once more calling for a settlement.

The Council write to the Court of Directors on the 26th December, as the result of this interview:[1]

"We All went to him Last Tuesday and then, together with his Account, delivered him a Letter signed by us All, demanding payment of what he owes you or what he is able to pay in this Country. The Sum̃e, now the Intrest is added, amounts to (*Rupees*) 227572 „ 12 „ 6.

"He has not yet wrote us an answer, but in word he denys his owing you so great a sume, and says he has scarce mony enough to cary him handsomely into England, therefor can pay us nothing. We may guess by his muttering that he will Continue to write something for an Account, but it is only guess, for whilst we were with him he spoake very Litle in plaine or Intelligible words, and if he does write us we cant from his past Example expect a word of truth from him or Anything like a declaration that he ever designes honestly to make you satisfaction . . . ."

Littleton's own utterance, in regard to the visit and to the accounts as set forth against him, is contained in the following ribald effusion against Hedges, a specimen of the "very abuseive and scurillous" which surpasses, I suppose, in that line, anything that Governor Pitt had to complain of from his old friend:

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[1] O.C. 8474.

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Letter from Sir E. LITTLETON, *dated* "CALCUTTA 16 January 1706-7", *and addressed to Messrs.* WINDER, NIGHTINGALE, MAISTER, and KING, "*Appointed by the Honble. the English Company . . . the Sole and onely present managers of their separate Affairs in* BENGALL":

"Gentlemen,

"On the 21st of last month a letter was deliverd by and in presence of some of yourselves signed by those of the Councill then present, as alsoe by an IRISHMAN (for what reason I know not) whom you have, as I understand, made or continued the Accomptant for the Companys Affaires, perhaps for easing your Selves, or avoiding some worke not overpleasing to you, and more proper for such a person, said IRISHMAN haveing been long discharged from the United Councill and accordingly at the same time from that of the Seperate, and alsoe by their positive order and settlement of the Company in their united and separate state, and I hear has lately thrown himself out, and abdicated alsoe the Companys service in both their states, soe I can esteeme noe more of him than of a private person, not in the Companys service and less in the Councill, therfore tho: have hitherto forborne cannot longer taking notice of his insolent intrusion Among you, and signing with and Above you, and think it just to lett you know that for the future whatever missive may come from you (since you are a full Councill by the Companys establishment) signed with the IRISHMAN your Book keepers firme I cannot receive the same with that deference and respect due to your selves, and which I would by noe means be found wanting in, tho' to him I owe none but what proper to such a person, whom the Old Companys Servants, here then, upon his running away 1684, and as it was said with a summe of the Companys money, and from his accounts, not dareing to Abide the Audit of them here did then give him (and as it then was thought a most just one) the caracter of a Treacherous Run away IRISH Villain Rogue and Thief, soe that if any come it may be expected noe notice to be taken thereof or Reply given unless such as may not be to content, by including of you all joyntly Guilty of his crimes which are very great and what I would otherwise endeavour to seperate.

"With the aforesaid Letter was delivered a paper called an Account signed by the said IRISHMAN the Bookeeper, being such a Bundle of false hoods, lyes, forgerys, treacherys, villainys &ca. hudled up together as was never before done in one fagot by the most execrable wretche, but it is to be considered that IRISHMEN are very prolifike in all manner of Villainye and that the same may appears in a more clear light it will be needfull that some method be taken to perform the same, therefore.

"I shall first draw out my owne Running Account as I finde the same stand in my bookes at present, whether more may appear afterwards know not, but if doe may be charged to one side or other as may be due.

"Next shall animadvert upon the Account it selfe and therein owne all that shall appear a just charge or article of which I think there is not one, and deny what is unjustly Charged, as alsoe detest and lay open such falsehoods, lyes, forgerys felonious force &ca. used and conversant About the said Account of which every Article is full.

"Then because your IRISH Bookeeper is soe Ready to draw up or make up an Account for others, according to the way of that Country and Manner of those people, I shall draw one up for him, after the ENGLISH mode, with justice and truth, every article whereof shall give full and sufficient proofe of before any

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unprejudiced Impartiall honest persons whatever that may be agreed on or authorised thereto, whereby you will be convinced what a Speciall Select Choice you made of an IRISHMAN for your Correspondent and Manager.

"The first of these was finished many dayes agoe, and lay by thinking to have sent the same being my Running Account with the Rest, but being disapointed of an Amanuensis for transcribeing the Rest, I therefore send you this first, its Ballance due to me Rs. 1057 „ 15 „ 6, and assure you that there is not one article here but what shall justifye and Abide the determination of any Court of Judicature or of any Impartiall unprejudiced honest persons whatever that may bé agreed upon—Your Book keepers account I hope to gett ready my selfe for you in time but the Animadverting upon his account as given in and signed, as may be plainly perceived with a trembling hand, soe multiply'd upon me in the worke that it would be impossible to get it done in time without other assistance than any I can procure to transcribe the same.

"I am

"Your most humble Servant

"EDWARD LITTLETON."

This is followed, on the 30th of the same month, by another long and virulent letter to the Council, accompanied by what he styles his "examination of their IRISH Bookeeper's Accompt article by article," which is a curiosity in ribaldry, *e.g.*:

"4thly. This is yett a worse than the former; your IRISH Bookeeper goes from bad to worse, it being noe less than a Raparee Accompt, with all the agravateing crimes and Circumstances the former were under of Mallice, falsehood, Treachery, Villany, and forgery."

Again referring to Gosseram, a native merchant spoken of in the Council's letter, p. ccxvii, whose affairs were mixed up with Littleton's, the latter says:

"I doubt not the IRISHMAN took off a Cordiall comfortable snicker or Bowle of his bloud (not to satisfye his divellish thirst after bloud, for nothing save the grave quenches an IRISHMAN's bloudy thirst, but it might gratify somewhat his lust full concupiscence after bloud for the present) and sent the Rest to the Lady of the IRISH Castle to make her black puddings for breakfast meat . . . ."

And so on for 25 folio pages!

The Council reply temperately, to Littleton's first abusive letter, in theirs of 27th January:[1]

* * * * * * *

"Your reporting or writeing of Slanders does not make them true, neither does your vote or opinion put Mr. HEDGES out of the Companys Service. Their letters confirme him, and you have noe Authority to Supersede their orders . . . .

"As for the paper you pretend to be your running account with the Honble: Company, wee doe not finde that any single article of what you charge is true, excepting only that of the Sallary, which you finde in the Account wee delivered you, and you omitt bringing to the Companys Credit vast summes due from you, but such Shifts never pay Debts, and cannot clear you."

[1] O.C. 8485.

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They also send him on the same date a formal protest.[1]

On the date of the letter to Littleton, just quoted, the Council also write to the Court :[2]

"Mr. ROBERT HEDGES and Mr. JONATHAN WINDER haveing each of them delivered up what charge they had in your honours Seperate Service, to the rest of the Councill, and there being noe accounts or demands upon either of them in your honours Bookes, they both returne for ENGLAND on the Shipp *Hallifax* with Consent both of the United Councill and the Councill for your honours seperate affairs.

. . . . "Wee received the 24th[3] of this month instead of a reasonable and just answer from Sr Edward Littleton to our Demands of the money he owes your honours, a Libell or Lampoon composed of Malicious Invectives and Slanders, and Couched in worse than BILLINGSGATE Language, as yoū will finde by its Copy which we herewith send you together with our answer and protest delivered him with it.

"Hee gott into your Honours Debt by fraudulent and dishonest Contrivances, and he seems resolved to endeavour keeping your money as dishonestly as he got it into his hands" . . . .

This is signed by HEDGES, WINDER, NIGHTINGALE, JOHN MAISTER, and ARTHUR KING.

My next and last extract is from a letter addressed by their Councill in Bengal to the Court of Directors of the English Company, and reports the death of Littleton in October 1707. It is dated "Fort William in Bengall, the 17th December 1707."[4]

"When Messrs. HEDGES and WINDER were present we made a demand from Sr. EDWARD LITTLETON of what money is due to your honours from him, his answer was Gennerally that he had not any in India to make sattisfaction to your Honours but would Endeavour it at home where he designed this year had not Death prevented him.—On the 24th October he departed this life after five days Illness of a feavour, he was not in the least apprehensive of so sudden a change not having left any will, so of course the Councill for the United Trade take his effects into their charge, according to directions given by the Honble: Court of Managers . . . . Mr. ABRAHAM ADDAMS with two more of the Companys Factors were Ordered to take an Account of Sr. EDWARD LITTLETON's effects, and expose them to Sale by publique Outcry which has been accordingly performed. They found in ready money 1354 : 5 Rups, and his Outcry amounts to Rups 10002 : 4¼ and he has with Mr. JOHN SALLADINE in the Shipp *Sarah* as

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[1] On these two last papers is the following ancient docket :

"This Paper writeing was showed to JONATHAN WINDER at the time of his examination taken in Chancery on the behalf of the E. I. Companys complaints against Sr. STREYNSHAM MASTER Knt. and other Defendants.

"A. TREVOR."

I do not know the bearing of this.

[2] O.C. 8484.

[3] This must, however, be Littleton's letter, dated 16th January.

[4] O.C. 8527.

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near as we can perceive by his account, Rupees 9146 : 10, but of that we fear little is to be expected, that Shipp sayled hence for FORT ST. GEORGE in March last and as yett not heard of which makes us give her over for lost, we designe so soon as all S[r] EDWARD's money is gathered in to make a Demand thereof from the United Councill and what they pay us we will indorse upon the back side of his Note Dated the 30th April 1704 for Rupees 23 808 : 3 in part of said note, in the Pacquet comes a paper containing account of his Estate in ENGLAND as it stands in his Books Ballance, 1695, since which he has not Kept any Regular accounts. We shall take care so soon as these shipps are dispatched and more at leasure to look over his papers carefully and give your Honours an account of what we find in them relateing to his Estate in England. He stands indebted to your Honours as p. last account sent your Honours (*Rs.*) 227572 : 12 : 6 : Principle and Interest, Including his man GOSSARAMS Debt of 47516 : 14 :. Not any Interest added to his account since the 30th November 1706" . . . .

* * * * * * *

"In the Pacquet we send your Honours a Copie of a paper Entitled an account of some debts oweing to the Honble: the English Company trading to the East Indies by Mr. ROBERT HEDGES, which account was deliver'd to us about half an hour before Messrs. HEDGES and WINDER left this place, by S[r] EDWARD LITTLETON. We can't think what should Induce Sr. EDWARD to draw up such a paper so false, fill'd with fowle Language, and with Submission to your Honours its our oppinions every Article of them are false and his own debts turn'd upon Mr. HEDGES."

The Act 6th Queen Anne, cap. 17, arranged finally for the Union of the Companies,[1] and assigned to Earl Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer, the duty of making a conclusive award for the adjustment of the claims and jarring interests which were still in difference between the two bodies. In this famous award the name of the unhappy man, Sir EDWARD LITTLETON, was dishonourably enshrined, as his debt, due to the Company which he served, of 80,437 *rupees*, 8 *annas* was adjudged to remain to the English Company on their additional Stock, and not to be added to the United Stock as a debt in the East Indies.

MASTER, SIR STREYNSHAM.[2] This gentleman was the 13th child and 8th son of Richard Master, Esq. (1604-1669), of East Langdon, in Kent—a manor granted to the family after the dissolution of

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[1] Formally, the surrender of its charters by the (Old or) London Company, and the reconstitution of the English Company as the *United Company of Merchants of England* trading *to the East Indies.*

[2] A variety of particulars, and some interesting extracts of letters (specified in the foot-notes), have been added to this sketch from an able and valuable genealogical work by the Rev. George Streynsham Master, M.A. (*Some Notices of the Family of Master of East Langdon and Yotes in Kent, New Hall and Croston in Lancashire, and Barrow Green, in Surrey, etc. . . . .* Printed for private circulation, 1874), to whose kindness I am indebted for a

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the monasteries—and grandson of Sir Edward Master, of the same place (1574-1648), Governor of Dover Castle.

The Master family had been settled in East Kent at least since the 13th century. Four branches of the name, deriving origin from a Kentish source, still survive in various parts of England.

The wife of Sir Edward Master was Audrey, daughter and co-heir of Robert Streynsham, Esq., whence the latter name has ever since been current in the Master family as a baptismal name. The wife of Richard Master was Anne, daughter of Sir James Oxenden, Knt.

Streynsham Master was born Oct. 28, 1640. In an autograph memo. of the *Remarkable Passages of my Owne Life*, he notes that at eight years old he "went to Schoole at SUTTON to Mr. LATHAM"; in 1654 to "Mr. CULLEN and Mr. BRETT"; and in 1655 "to Schoole at CANTERBURY with Mr. POWNDALL"; and, in the same year, "to Schoole at LONDON to writ and Cipher to Mr. THOS: FOX". Notwithstanding these numerous changes, and his early departure for India, his papers show a man decidedly better educated than the majority of his contemporaries in the Company's service.

On Good Friday 1656 (April 4th) he took leave of his family at Langdon to proceed to India with his uncle and godfather George Oxenden. The India trade was then open and Mr. Oxenden was bound for Surat in the conduct of a private Company's adventure. They arrived at Surat in November 1656, and in January 1659 Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe, leaving his young nephew in charge of his brother, Christopher Oxenden, then 2nd in Council of the Company's factory at Surat. Master was then sent as *Cape-Merchant* and supercargo on board a vessel bound for Mocha, Gombroon, Bussora, and Cong. Returning to Surat in December 1659, he found the President (Wych) and his uncle Christopher were both dead. Mr. Andrews (later, Sir Matthew), the new President, wanting factors, took Streynsham Master into the Company's Service in January 1659-60, and in the succeeding years till 1686, he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. In 1662 his uncle returned to Surat as Sir George, and President of Surat.

The following interesting extracts of an early correspondence between young Streynsham and his sister Mary (born 1634), are derived from "*The Family of Master*", (p. 60):

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copy. Mr. Master has also generously confided to me a valuable album of selected original letters and memoranda, many of them in the handwriting of Sir Streynsham. These will be referred to as the *Master Papers.* Besides these, Mr. Master possesses a large additional amount of the private correspondence of his ancestor and the family, affording much interesting matter.

The bulk of my sketch is, as usual, derived from the MS. Records in the India Office, with some extracts from letters in the British Museum.

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir STREYNSHAM) MASTER, *to his sister,* MARY MASTER, *at* EAST LANGDON, *written from* INDIA *in* 1659:

"As business comes on, soe I find the state of our family, to creep out of my mind, which I am willing to retaine soe long as possibly I cann, wherefore my petition to you is that you would please to honour me soe farr as by the next returne of these shipps to send me a true account of our fammily of the MASTERS, from what house they came, and where was their old Seate. So likewise of the STREINSHAMS, and alsoe the OXENDENS, an account of all our unkles and aunts and ourselves taken exactly, of what day and yeare wee were borne, that I may know all our ages, together with the distinct marke in Heraldrye for the distinction of brothers, and if there be any ancient historis of such things that you thinke fitt to send, they will bee very welcome to mee, for I am a great lover of such stories."

Reply to the above by MARY MASTER, *dated from her Father's House, at* EAST LANGDON, April 1660:

"I have minded my Brother JAMES oft to answer your desires in the relations of our famellys: he says you demand more then he knowes: the oldest writtings my father has shows us all ways to be gentel men: my grandfather Sr EDWARD was all the Knights that ever was in our famelly. Our great grandfather, JAMES MASTER had a good Estate: was a great scoller: a prudent wise man in his old days: in his yuth wilde: spent and lost all most all by Cards and Dise: but heareing people oft saye: yunder gos Master had Land: it so strucke him: that he resolued: as he had, so he would haue: and so recalling him selfe; he became a very great husband, and quickly purchesed his lost lands: and added to it 100s. We have very good things of his writing and many Manescrips: then it was not so usall to print all things: as now it is: we haue writings no further then our greate greate granfather JOHN MASTER: for our great grandfather JAMES was his second sun: had but 200 pounds a yeare: his eldest sun had daughters only and so the estate went awaye: and that is the Reason we haue writings can shew no further then LANGDEN: and which our last fathers purchised: but old JOHN had 15 hundred or 2000 pounds a yeare: lived nobly, keept 3 score men in Blue Cots, which was the Liuerry all gentel men formerly gaue: one St. Johns daye or in Christmas spend a Brenner (?) for Breakefast, then judge what must be spent all the daye and Christmas besids: This is all I know. I suppos he will satisfy yu as far as he can: but indeed his Lawe puts him so full of implyments he can not serue his friends so much as he wolde. My Mother is not willing our Ages should trauel so far: you haue posed the ainchients frind liueing: to giue an eccount of our 3 famelys: the rite seats and Arms and the true Heroldry: your discorce would take up a weeks time from morning to night and the writing a large valome in foliour."

However, this pleasant damsel enclosed a paper with the list of their own number, very quaint and pretty. Herself is recorded:—

"MARY MASTER: only happy in the Loue of her good Brothers: still a maiden, Borne Maye Munday O sad 1634"....

And he:—

"STRAYNSHAM MASTER, an Ingenyous INDIA Marchant: thriueing in his implyment: and a true Honnourer of his frinds: Borne Wensday October 28:

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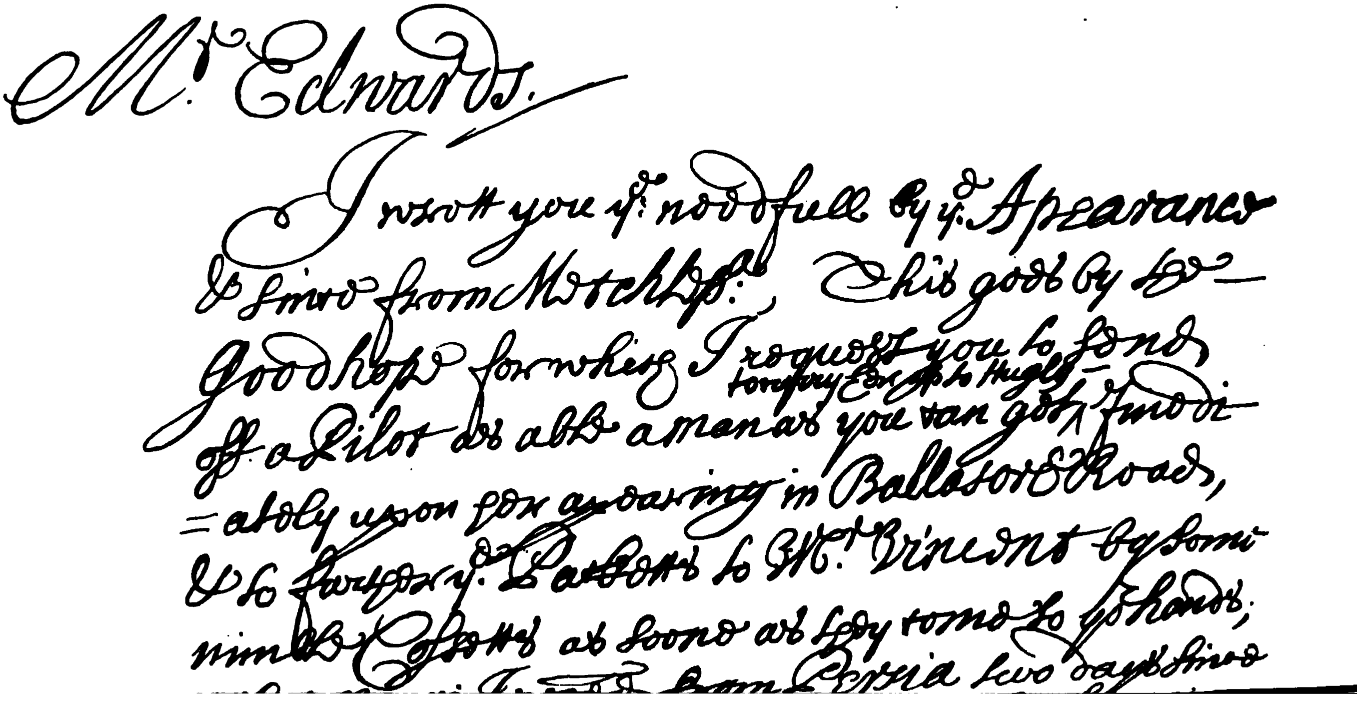
No. 1.

PLATE VII.


Mr Edwards.

I wrott you ye needfull by ye Apearance & since from Metchlepa. This goes by ye Goodhope for which I request you to send [to carry her up to Hugly] off a Pilot as able a man as you can gett, imediately upon her arriving in Ballasore Road, & to forward ye Letters to Mr Vincent by some nimble Cossetts as soone as they come to yr hands; ... from Persia two days since

[illegible]

not further to trouble you now

Yo.r affectionate friend

Fort St. George
May 23d. 1679

Streynsham Master

No. 2.

Mr. Richard Smythson.

Fort St. George Madrasspatam the 11th. of Septemb. 1669

* * * * * * * * *

George Foxcroft

Jeremy Sambrooke

1640". . . . "Modysty would not suffer me to giue a young Man my Age but hear it is: I hop the older the wiser, for yourselfe: and let nother eye see itt: I beseech your worshipe."[1]

The young lady's letter is followed by one from her eldest brother James, a barrister and eventually a Bencher of Gray's Inn, giving additional information regarding the forefathers of the house; but it is too long for us to copy.

In 1668 we find Streynsham Master one of the Council at Surat, and in September of that year he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor designate), Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers.

"At my return thence to SURRATT", he writes,[2] "the President and Councill sent me downe the coast of INDIA[3] and MALLABAR to take up Mr. RANDOLPH TAYLOR's Commission (who dyed there) and settle the Factors at CARWARR and CALLECUTT after the DUTCH War. This Voyage (praised be GOD) I performed with good Success tho' with great hazard of my Life by a Tumult of the Rabble MOPLAES upon an unlucky accident at CALLECUT."

Streynsham Master took part, under his uncle the President, in the defence of the factory and Company's property, when the Mahrattas attacked Surat in 1664. And when Sivají pillaged Surat for the second time, in October 1670, Master was deputed to come over with a party of seamen from Swally, where the Council was then temporarily located, to occupy the factory at Surat, and this he held against the invaders with much gallantry and tact.

At a meeting of the Court in London, 26 Jany. 1671-2, we find a resolution recorded:

"That a medal of Gold to the value of XX£ be provided and sent to the President at SURRAT, as a remembrance of his good service against SEVAGEE the last year; And that the like be provided to be given to Mr. STREINSHAM MASTERS[4] at his arrivall in England."

The President (in succession to Sir G. Oxenden, who died in July 1669) was Gerald Aungier, a worthy man, but who had not (that I can find) done anything particular on this occasion. I regret to learn, from obliging communications of Master's descendants, that the medal cannot now be traced. The Rev. G. Streynsham Master possesses the case

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[1] The young lady, in 1665-6, became the wife of Archdeacon Estcott of Exeter; and, after his death, married Mr. Isaacke, a merchant and alderman of the same city.

[2] *Master Papers.*

[3] Here INDIA is used specifically for the territory adjoining Goa; a usage derived from the Portuguese (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, pp. 331, 333), though even in this usage it extended ordinarily to Cape Comorin.

[4] He is constantly called *Masters* in the correspondence. See a note on p. xcv, *supra*.

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which once held it,—ivory mounted in silver,—and now containing the following memorandum in Sir Streynsham's hand-writing:

"This is the case of a Gold Medall given me by the East India Company when I came into England 1672. Upon one Side was the Armes of the Company, with this inscription, *Pro meritis contra Sevageum apud Suratt* 1670. Oz. 3½.

"Upon the other Side was the Armes of the Family of Master, with this inscription, *Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri.* And about it was *Virtutis comes Invidia.*"

Upon a separate piece of paper, and in the less vigorous handwriting of Master's old age, is written: "This Medall was Delivered to Sir Richard Hoare."

On the bare chance that Hoare's Bank might have retained the custody of the medal, inquiry was addressed to the firm by the Rev. G. S. Master, but without success. So the medal would appear to be lost, unless perchance this mention may procure information as to its present existence.

It is notable that the first-mentioned motto, being that which had been adopted by James Master of East Langdon, the great grandfather of Streynsham, when obtaining a grant of arms from the Herald's Office in 1608, is stated by the Rev. P. Anderson, in his *Western India*, to have been inscribed on the medal previously bestowed by the Company on Sir George Oxenden for his conduct of the defence of the factory in in 1664. No authority is cited by Mr. Anderson.

I now give a long extract from a letter of the Surat Council which details the story of Streynsham Master's expedition to the city for the defence of the Company's property. It is dated "Swally Marine, 20 November 1670", and is signed by Gerald Aungier, Matthew Gray, Stre: Master, Charles James, and Alexander Grigbie.[1]

"Wee had gott them (the ships) ready to Sayle the first or second October, when wee were surprised with continued hott allarums of Sevagy's neare approaches to Surratt with an army of 15,000 horse and ffoote, against whom there were not 300 men ready to Defend the Towne. Your Councell were all at Swally Marine when the newes came; where lay not only the Stresse of our bussiness but the greatest part of your goodes bought for Europe. For by an happy Providence, as wee may well call it, forseeing the ensuing danger, that the Towne of Surratt would certainly become a Prey either to the Princes Army (who is rebelled against the Mogull) or to Sevagy, Wee took a convenient time to empty all your warehouses at Surratt of what goodes were ready embaled, and sent them downe to Swally. Soe that in your house were onely left some Tapseiles[2] and Cotton Yarne, not embaled. Onely at the Washers and Beaters, in the Severall out villages there remained about 2000 Corge[3] of severall goodes

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[1] O.C. (3575).

[2] *Tafstla*, a stuff (silk apparently) from Mecca, also made in India.

[3] Score.

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to wit NUNDRABAUD and SURAT Baftas and Porcas (or Poccas ?) delivered out to bee whited. However notwithstanding you were then in a great Measure Secured Wee thought it necessary to provide for the remayning goods in SURAT as also to maintaine your honour and that of the Nation (which wee had hitherto reputably preserved), from any Scandall that might be cast upon us of deserting the Towne and your house in Time of danger When the Dutch and Ffrench kept theirs. Wherefore your servant GERALD AUNGIER resolved the same day the newes arrived to goe up to SURRATT with a guard of men taken out of the Shipps, intending to leave Mr. MATTHEW GRAY with the rest of your Councell at the Marine to take care of your Interest there; but as he was preparing to take horse, the rest of your Councell thought goode to declare their Judgment against his going, advising That it would not consist with the safety of your affaires to hazard the Person of your President at such a time, when all the Merchants of the Towne and the Officers them Selfes had Diserted it. That it was Impossible though wee tooke all the men out of the shipps, to defend an open house against such an Army; That if your President were in the house, the enemy might probably assault it on purpose to seize his person, in hopes of his ransome. Whereas if he were not there it might be less taken notice of. That the greatest part of your estate lay at SWALLY whither t'was not improbable but the enemy might send some partye either to Seize or burne your goodes, in case they had not their demands, against whome it was necessary to make the best provision we could. These with other arguments they presst Soe earnestly that Govr. AUNGIER thought it would not become him to oppose the body of the Councell. Wherefore desisting from his Journey after debate Wee resolved to Send up 30 seamen taken out of your shipps with Mr: STREINSHAM MASTER who chearfully undertooke the charge, and our advice to him was that he should keep his men close to your house and not Discharge a Gunn or ffight with the enemy unless they were first assaulted. So the 2d October at night Mr. MASTER with parte of the menn marched up to SURRATT, the rest wee sent up on the hoigh, which was to lye there to secure their retreat in case they were forced to leave the house. It will be some Divertisement to you to read what passed at SURRATT and SWALLY, which was thus,

"The 3d October SEVAGY's army approached the walls and after a slight assault the Defendants fled under shelter of the Castle Gunns, and they possest them Selfes of the whole towne, some few houses excepted which stood on their defence, to witt the ENGLISH house, the DUTCH, and FFRENCH, and the two *Serays* or Seraglias, one whereof was maintayned by PERSIAN and TURKISH Merchants, the other by a TARTAR King called the King of CASCAR (who being of kin to the MOGULL, and beaten out of his countrey by his owne sonne, desired leave last yeare to go on Pillgrimage to MECHA, from whence he returned two months since). Part of the army the same day assaulted the TARTAR's quarter and the ENGLISH house; But the FFRENCH made a private peace for them selfes, on what tearmes wee cannot Learne; and so never shott off a Gunn, though at first being strong in menn they Vapoured as if they would have fought the whole army themselfes. The enemy found such hott service from our house, having lost severall menn, that they left us and fell on the TARTAR quarter feircely, which lay between the FFRENCH house and ours. At first they made a stout resistance, but the Ffrench suffering the enemy to possess some Avenues next their house, and as tis affirmed furnishing them with powder and shott, the TARTARS could keep their house no longer, but in the night having conveighed away their King to the Castle left their house a prey to SEVAGY, where he

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found a vast treasure in gould, silver, rich plate, a Goald Bedd and other rich furniture. The new Seray also defended by the TURKS, they assaulted, but were beaten off with Losse. But the DUTCH house lying out of the way, was never attempted by them. The enemy having taken the TARTAR Seray, could from thence more safely ply their shott at our house, for which they prepared them selfs; but finding our menn resolute on their defence they held up their hands desiring a Parley, and the Captain of that Brigade calling to speake with Mr. MASTER from the wall he appeared to them. Many expostulations passed touching our good correspondence at BOMBAY and our coming at SURRATT. The Captain tould Mr. MASTER the Raja, or SEVAGY, was much enrajed that wee had killed soe many of his menn, and was resolved on revenge. Mr. MASTER answered they assaulted and wounded severall of our menn before they shott a gunn, and that if his menn did not assault the ENGLISH, they would not offend him. But if they offered violence they were resolved to defend the house to the last mann and would sell their Lives deare. The Captain answered that he would keep his menn in, and desired allso that he would send some understanding person to discourse with him. This being agreed on on both sides, our house was quiett in two dayes. In the interim the army ransacked the great houses at leasure, and found therein Vast treasure, and with goodes, sette fire to sevrall places, destroying neare halfe the Towne to the ground. They approached the Castle threatening to storme it, but they were not, it seems prepared for it, for they did not venture near. The third day they appeared againe before our house, notwithstanding our overtures of Treaties before, casting out threatening speeches, that they would take or burne it to the ground. But Mr. MASTERS stood in soe resolute a posture that the Captain not willing to hazard his menn, with much adoo kept them back and sent a mann into the house to advise Mr. MASTER what was fitt to be done. This person told him the Rajah was much offended for the Loss of his menn and therefore advised he would send some person to him, but he must not goe empty handed, but with a present, though to no great Vallue. Mr. MASTER thought it not imprudent to Secure your goodes together with so many menn's lives at soe reasonable a rate, and therefore by advice of those with him resolved to prepare and send a present to SEVAGY to the amount of rups. (   ) in Scarlett, Sword blades, knives, &ca., which while he was getting ready, the person that was sent to him being a merchant of RAJAPORE fell into discourse with him touching our leaving the ffactory, asking the reason why wee did not send our people to trade there as formerly. Mr. MASTER answered That it was SEVAGYS ffault and not ours, for he had plundered the Company's house, imprisoned their servants, and whereas since that time he had given sattsfaction to severall persons whom he had robbed Yet he had not taken care to satisfy the ENGLISH the Losse they had sustayned, to which he answered that SEVAGY did much desire our return to RAJAPORE and would doe very much to give us satisfaction. Mr. MASTER told him that In regard the President was at SWALLY he would say but little, but he would acquaint him therewith and there was no doubt but that he would trade againe in his Port, if SEVAGY would restore what he had taken from us, and secure us from such Violence in the future. This gratefull discourse bein over the Present was sent by two of your servants who were conveighed to SEVAGYS Tent without the Towne. He sent for them and received them with the Piscash, in a very kind manner, telling them that the ENGLISH and he were good ffriends, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would doe the ENGLISH no wrong,

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and that this giving his hand was better than any Cowle[1] to oblige him thereunto. Before your Servants were returned to your house SEVAGY had called his army out of the Towne to the wonder of all menn, In regard no enemy was near, nor the noyse of any army to appoze him. But he had gott plunder enough and thought if prudent to secure himself and that. When he marched away he sent a letter to the Officers and Cheife Merchants the substance whereof was that if they did not pay him twelve Lacks of rupees yearly tribute he would returne the next yeare and burne downe the remayning parte of the Towne.

"Noe sooner SEVAGY was gone but the poore people of SURATT fell on plundering what was left, insomuch that there was not a house great or Small, excepting those which Stood on their Guard, which were not ransacked.

"In the first dayes ffight one ENGLISHMAN was Shott through the Body and is since dead of his wound. He was not your servant, but belonged to the King of BANTAM's Ship called the *Blessing*, only arrived from MOCHA, of whome Wee advised you last yeare, whose Commander Capt. ANDERSON hath been very Assistant to us, and was himselfe in person with 20 of his menn, ENGLISH and JAVAS, to defend the house. He has lost about 8,000 rupees in Pepper and other goodes consumed in the great ffire, what losse you have sustayned Wee shall hereafter acquaint you.

"While things passed thus at SURRATT, Wee at SWALLY were not free from danger, being kept in continuall Allarums of the enemys coming downe, and there was great reason to expect him in regard the Shawbunder, Cozzy,[2] with most of the eminent Merchants, Moores, Armenians, Cuttarees and Banians were ffled hither under our protection. And there is no doubt but SEVAGY would have sent parte of his army downe if it had not beene spring tides, that he could not foard over the river . . . .

"Wee prepared the best Wee could to defend your estate, which was very great, having by the help of the Ships Carpenters, built a Small Platforme at one end of the Marine yard, and mounted thereon 8 gunns, which tis sayd some of SEVAGYS spyes that were at SWALLY advised him off, and wee doubted not by Gods assistance to preserve your goodes from plunder. But wee feared ffire more then the enemy, against which wee kept a constant watch . . . ."

The letter goes on to speak of some trouble Master had with certain of his seamen, who were not to be prevented from plundering; of rewards given to the seamen for their assistance in defence; of the interest gained with the Mahommedan officers, and the merchants whom they had protected, etc.

"HODGY ZAYED BEAGUES Sonne, the richest Merchant in SURRATT Declared his resolution with an oath in the presence of Govr AUNGIER and MATTHEW GRAY that he would goe with his family to Bombay. Wee hope you will believe Wee did not discourage him therein."

From the Court's resolution in 1672, regarding the medal (p. ccxxv), we see that Mr. Master was then expected home. And we learn from the *Master Papers* that he did return in June of that year, a passenger in the *Antelope*, commanded by Capt. John Goldsborough, a worthy now

[1] Written pledge.

[2] *Sháhbandar*, or Harbour and Custom-Master, and *Kázi*, or Judge.

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well known to us; that he soon afterwards purchased the estate of Wallett's Court, near Dover; and that in 1674 (May 17th) he married Diana, daughter of Sir Thomas Bendyshe, Bart., of Bumsted, Essex, a lady whom he lost in the same year.

I find also in the Court Books of 1673-74, repeated notices of Master's presence in London. Under 10th December 1673:

"A golden Medal was now delivered to Mr. STREINSHAM MASTER for his good service performed against SEVAGEE at SURRATT."

Under 20th March 1673-74 he is granted a gratuity of £70 for "his paines and care" in keeping the Company's books at Surat from 1st August 1669 to 31st July 1670, during the absence at Bombay of Mr. Gray, 2nd of Council, whose proper business it was. And a few days later (25th March) this gratuity is made up to £120.

Other notices indicate that this busy man was prosecuting trade, and keeping himself before the view of the Court. Thus (8th Nov. 1672):

"It is ordered that Mr. STREINSHAM MASTER be permitted to export for India five tons of Red lead freight-free, to be put on board such Shipps as the Committees for Shipping shall appoint: The which liberty is granted on account of his making known to the Court that it is a Commoditie that will be of advantage to the Company to trade in."

Again, 30th April 1673:

"The Committees for Mr. SAMBROOK's Warehouse are desired to consider of Mr. MASTER's demands for allowance of Wrappers wanting on severall bales of Dungarees by him bought of the Company, and to report their opinion what is fitt to be done therein . . . ."

The result is that one piece for each bale is to be allowed him. And, again, on the 25th June, there is a similar complaint from Mr. MASTER, viz., that a bale bought by him as of dungaree, proved to be *all* wrappers (such, I presume, as had been used as outsides of bales already). And this brings a rap on the knuckles to Mr. Sambrooke, keeper of the warehouse.

A little later (10th Sept. 1675) Master was nominated to be successor of Sir William Langhorne in the government of Fort St. George, and we read in the Court's letter to that Presidency of 24th December 1675:

"Having had Consideration that Our Agent's Service is expired and Supposing he will not desire to stay much Longer in the Country, and Mr. STREINSHAM MASTER being presented to Us as a fitt person to serve Us in that place and Quality, We have Elected him to go by theis Ships, and upon his arrivall there to be Second at the ffort, and to Succeede in the Agency in January 1677 (our Stile) . . . . And untill hee comes to be Agent, he is to have 300£ sallery per annum. And when Agent to have the Same Sallery and gratuity as S^r: WILLIAM LANGHORNE now hath. And when he shall goe to METCHLEPATAM, the BAY, or any Subordinate ffactories, he is to take place as Cheif . . . . And Mr. MASTER is to have any one of our souldiers that he shall Chuse, to waite on him as a serving man."

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We find also instructions to Mr. Master, dated 16th Dec. 1675.

* * * * * * *

"Wee the said Governour and Companie reposing speciall trust and confidence in you STREINSHAM MASTER Esq: have chosen and Constituted you according to a Commission under our Common Seale bearing even date with theis presents to be Agent and Governour at FORT ST. GEORGE, and to enter on the said imployment January 1677, or imediately from and after the Death or Removall of Sr. WILLIAM LANGHORNE Our present Agent there, and vntill such time as you shall enter upon the said Agency and Government Wee doe appoint you to the second in Councell at FORT ST. GEORGE, and in order to the manadgement of Our Affaires in that Agency wee have thought fitt to give you for the present the following Instructions. . . .

* * * * * * *

"Secondly, if at your arrivall at the FFORT you shall find Sr. WILLIAM LANGHORNE there living, as Wee hope, Then Wee thinke it convenient that you Voyadge on Our Ships to METCHLEPATAM and the BAY to take an Inspection into all Our affairs and to regulate and set in Order what you shall find amiss.

* * * * * * *

"After you have settled Our affairs in some order at METCHLEPATAM you are to Saile with Our Ships to the BAY, and to returne back with Our said Ships to METCHLEPATAM and the FFORT.

"ffor your security and assistance in the said voyage, We haue directed Our Agent and Councell at the FFORT to permitt you to take with you from the FFORT or METCHLEPATAM two of our ffactors that are not of the Councell and 4 or 5 souldiers."

Instructions follow as to inspection of factory books and accounts, and to reduce them to such a plain and clear method as is practised in the Presidency of SURAT; as to the disposing of EUROPE goods, and the provision of INDIA goods for export to ENGLAND; especially as to the purchase of raw silk in the BAY, the provision and dyeing of Taffeties, etc.; respecting investigation of the personal characters and qualifications of the factors and writers, and to send a full list of them with salaries, employments and times of service; also to inquire into causes of dissensions among them and to exhort them to peaceable and quiet comportment, also:

"You are to make enquiry into the business of RUGO PODAR, who was beaten by the house broaker at CASAMBAZAR, and dyed presently after, upon which occasion vast charges have been expended. You are particularly to examine, whether there was any direction or order, publique or private, given or intimated to the said house Broker for his so doing, whither according to the Custome there the said house Broker might take on him to doe such a thing without Order or direction from the Chief; And whither if the house Broker did the same without Order, it had not bin the Company's Interest, and most proper and reasonable to have delivered him to justice, as in such case he well deserved, and was formerly done in Mr. SHELDONS time. You are to Sift out the truth of this Matter without favour or affection to any interested therein, and you may examine such persons as you think fitt upon Oath in order thereunto."

He is to make inquiry regarding the use of the Company's Seal; also

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the Company's trade privileges, and the *phirmaunds* sanctioning them; and to collect information regarding the ships going up the Ganges, and the best seasons, etc.

Regulations to be laid down for the classification and salaries of the Company's servants, the succession to vacancies, etc.; the estates of deceased servants; the action to be taken in the case of the unfaithfulness or criminality of members of Council, etc., etc., etc.

Master's commission was delivered to him on the 24th Dec. 1675. He sailed January 8th; arrived at Fort St. George, July 7th, 1676; and left again in *The Eagle* for Metchlepatam and Bengal on the 31st, reaching the former place on the 3rd August, and quitting it on the 18th. His Diary, the original of which is among the India Records, gives a minute account of his proceedings on this tour of inspection. Here is a quaint extract on the use of *Roundells* (*i.e.*, umbrellas):

"16th August. There being an ill Custome in the ffactory of writers having roundells carried over their heads, which is not used or allowed by the Government of the Towne, but only to the Governour and the three next principall officers, and to two or three eminent merchants of ancient standing. And by the DUTCH only to their Cheifes, second, and Third, who are of their Councell, and at FFORT ST. GEORGE is allowed only to the Councell and Chaplaine. It is therefore ordered that noe Person in this ffactory shall have a roundell carried over them, but such as are of the Councell and the Chaplaine."

This affair of the roundels continued to afford a crow to pluck with the young men till the middle of the next century.[1]

The next stay was at Balasore, where Mr. Master halted from 23rd August till 5th September. The following extract affords the earliest use I have yet met with of a well-known Anglo-Indian term of disputed origin:

"31st August. There being a Complaint of the Punch houses in this Towne, which are very pernicious, soe well in respect to the Peace and quiet of the Place, as the health of our Seaman, it is therefore ordered that noe Punch-houses bee admitted within the precinct of the ENGLISH *Compound*". . . .

"5th Sept. . . . This night we sailed over the Sands called the Brases, having never lesse than three ffathome water, and a Swelling Sea."

"7th Sept. This morning wee came faire by the ARRACAN Shoare, and by the DUTCH boyes, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the River neare the ile of COXES, and bought as much fish out of a boate for half a Rupee as would serve fourscore men.

"8th. This day we passed by the river which goes to CHITTYGOM and DACCA, which the ENGLISH call the river of *Rogues*, by reason the ARRACANERS used to come out thence to Rob, and sailed up the river GANGES, on the east side of which most part of the great quantity of beeswax is made, which is the Kings comodity, and none suffered to deale therein but for his accompt. And swarmes of Bees flew over our Vessell, alsoe we passed by great number of salt pitts, and

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[1] See s. v. *Roundel* in *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, 1886.

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places to boile salt, which is alsoe appropreated to the King or Great MOGULL, and none suffered to be made but for his accompt.

"This evening with the tide of flood we gott into that part of the river GANGES that come from HUGLY. At the mouth of the said river there's 18 or 19 fathoms water without, and but 8 or 9 within, but it sholds gradually shelving-wise, yett causes a great whirling of the water, soe that often times Ships and vessells are turned or winded round by it for a good space of time, but seldom receive dammage thereby (as afterwards I saw one further up the river soe winded) but wee comeing neare upon a high water gott in without any such winding, and they happen at the first of the flood and last of the ebb."[1]

"10th. This morning wee endeavoured to weigh our anchor again, but all the force and art could be used by 30 men at a winlas and Capston could not move itt and being out of hope to gett it up wee cutt our cable and left it. The cable being new made of MALDIVE Coir never started a strain . . . .

"11th. The said Dutch Skipper said he was a Yorkshireman; he told us that his Shipp was shott by the mouth of this river leading to HUGLY into that river we call TUMBERLEEN[2] . . . .

"This afternoon Mr. DOUGLAS the Chyrurgeone of the *Eagle*, who looked to Wm. Callaway, very sick on board the *Ganges*, sent to Mr. DARLEY to come to him, believing he was neare his end, whereupon Mr. DARLEY very willingly went, accompanied by Mr. BONNELL, ROBT. LITTLETON, and NATHL. WETHAM, and GEORGE HERRON the Master of the *Arrivall*, etc." (In returning after Mr. Callaway's death a boat accident happened, and Messrs. DARLEY and WHETHAM were drowned.)

"Mr. Callaway having desired to be decently buried ashoare, and there being no hopes of getting the Sloopes up higher then they were, which is neare the island JAN PERDO, by reason of the strength of the Freshes, I therefore sent his corpse away in the boats this night to be buried at TANNA, and the boats not being able to get higher then LITTLE TANNA, he was buried there next day" . . . .

"13. Wednesday morning about 7 clock, we gott to BARNAGUR, where the DUTCH have a place called the Hogg ffactory, and I was informed they Kill about 3000 hoggs in a yeare, and salt them for their shipping . . . .

" . . . . lesse then 2 miles short of HUGLY we passed by the DUTCH Garden, and a little further by a large spot of ground which the FFRENCH had laid out in a ffactory, the gate to which was standing, but was now in the possession of the DUTCH. Then wee came by the DUTCH ffactory, which is a large well-built house standing by it selfe, much like to a Country Seat in ENGLAND . . . . That part of the Towne which wee passed by was all built of thatcht Hovells.

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[1] No shoal is indicated here as then existing, but this is the site of the famous *James and Mary* sand, deriving its name from a wreck in 1694 (see p. cxxxiii), and there must have been some important change in the hydrography of the Delta, if the causes of this danger were not already in operation.

[2] The Rupnarain, or river of Tamlúk, which flows into the estuary from the westward. The late General W. A. Forbes, of the Bengal Engineers, once told me a tradition of a member of the Bengal Pilot service having been seized by a French man-of-war, and ordered to take her up the Húglí. Instead of which the patriotic pilot took her up the "river we call Tumberleen"—a regular *cul-de-sac*.

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About 7 a clock in the evening we came to the Honble: Companys ffactory.[1] . . . .

"Septr. 18th . . . . This evening wee sett forward to the Company's Garden about 2 miles out of Towne. . . . .

"20 . . . . At noone we came to NUDDEA where there is an ancient College of the Bramans; there we dined. . . . .

"22 . . . . Passed by the Honble. Companys salt boats, being 17 great Pattellaes.

* * * * * * *

"25. Mr. VINCENT sent a man to BOLCHUND the Governour of MOXADAVAD, to acquaint him of my being come. . . . ."

One of the earliest matters taken up by Mr. Master, after his arrival at Kásimbázár was an inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of RUGO the Podár (or cashier). This affair happened in 1673. The man had been put in custody by the orders of Mr. Vincent, the chief of the Factory, with the view of extracting payment of a sum due to the Company, and Vincent, on going into the country, gave him in charge, with what orders was doubtful, to Anant Rám, the broker of the Factory, who, in deposition, admitted having caused the Podar and his son "to be beaten a few blows with a small stick, as little as the pen this is written withall." The same night the Podár died. Vincent was charged with having caused his death, and there was naturally much excitement among the native community, and trouble with the Mahomedan government. The matter was closed, or hushed up, after a payment, charged to the Company, of some 13,000 Rupees. The Court's orders, besides the reference in their instructions to Mr. Master, already given, run as follows:

Extract from Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 24th December 1675.

"As to the death of RUGO PODAUR it is our desire that a serious and strict examination may be taken of that affaire, for where blood is concerned wee are and ought to be very tender, least wee make ourselves pertakers of the guilt, and therefore till wee have a particular accompt thereof wee cannot give our judgement, nor allow of 13000 rup^{s} expended on that occasion, which we require may be made good to our Cash by Mr. VINCENT till our farther order, For although wee have binn informed that it hath binn the custome of the Cheifes of that place to use Severity to those that are in our debt, thereby to oblige them to payment, yett it was always done in the presence of the Cheifes who tooke care that it might be moderate, and not thereby to give an opportunity of revenge to the partyes enemey."

The inquiry went on for upwards of a fortnight, with evidence (of course) of a contradictory nature, but we find on October 13th that:

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[1] Regarding *Braces*, *Cock's Island*, *River of Rogues*, and other localities on the Húgli named in these extracts, see Note on the old Húgli charts, in a later part of this volume.

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"The Councell doe declare that according to the evidence in the said Depositions, they doe not find that Mr. MATHS. VINCENT hath had any hand in the death of RUGO Podaur, or binn accessary thereunto; but they find, according to the Depositions, that Mr. VINCENT was tender of him."

The verdict was not quite unanimous, and we may have our doubts as to its justice, but we are not called on to rejudge the case after two centuries.

Other charges brought against Mr. Vincent by Joseph Hall, a member of the Council, and countercharges against Mr. Hall, were also considered; and the decision (and, I fear, prejudice) of the majority was with Vincent and against Hall. There were also charges by Mr. Hall against Mr. Clavell and Mr. Reade, and by Mr. Clavell against Mr. Hall. The whole state of things illustrates the Court's constant references to the Bengal factions and disputes; and justifies the Nabob's disparaging character of the Company's servants there (*Hedges*, p. 153).

The following passages in the Diary of Master are worth noting. Under October 14th we have the origin of the Malda or Angrezábád factory, (often called "Englishavad" or the like) owing to which Malda became, and has continued to be to this day, the headquarters of an English district):

"Oct. 14. Mr. MASTER, being informed by some of the Councell well experienced in these parts that MAULDA (a Towne a dayes journey from RAJAMAULL on the other side GANGES, where the Dutch have lately built a ffactory) is a place where great quantityes and Varietyes of Course goods proper for Europe are made and procured, as *Cossaes*, *Hummums*, *Mulmulls*, *Alatches*, *Sushes*, and many other sorts very cheape.

"And having a direction in his Commission and Instructions . . . . Did thereupon propose to the Councell, that there might be a Sume of 4 or 500: rupees layd out in Samples of 5: or 6: peices of each sort of goods procurable at MAULDA, to be sent home by this yeares ships;

"To which the Councell agreed," (and further steps were taken).

October 28th. Extract from a letter addressed at this time by Mr. Master to the Court:

"The Nabob (SHASTA CHAUN) was in hourly expectation of the Kings answer to his letter about our *Phyrmaund*, what he should doe to the ENGLISH who had traded soe long without paying custome, and had noe *Phyrmaund*, which, should it be referred to him to inquire into and doe as hee thinkes fitt, as for the most part (I am told) all things are, he being the King's Unckle, I dread to think of the evill may fall on your Honours affaires thereby, for this Person hath binn Nabob or Governour of BENGALA 15: years, and hath got so great a treasure together, as the like is seldome heard of now a days in the world, being computed by knowing Persons at 38: *Currore* of rup^s: each *Currore* is a million Sterling, and his income is dayly 2: *Lack* or 200,000 Rup^s which is above 20,000*l* Sterling, of which his expense is above the one halfe: and yett he is every day more coveteous then other, soe that to relate to you the many wayes that are continually invented by his Duan (one of the Craftiest men in the Kingdome) and his Governours to bring money in to his Coffers would be

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as endless as admirable, both for their witt and Cruelty (to instance in one perticular, BOLLCHUND his Governour here, makes a year of 7: 8: or 9: moneths as the People are able by their Cropps of corne to pay or beare taxes)."

November 1st.

"The Councell haveing taken into Consideration and debate which of the two places, HUGHLY or BALLASORE, might be most proper and convenient for the residence of the Cheife and Councell in the BAY, Did resolve and conclude that HUGLY was the most fitting place notwithstanding the EUROPE Ships doe Unloade and take in their ladeing in BALLASORE roade, HUGLY being the Key or Scale of BENGALA, where all goods pass in and out to and from all parts, and being near the center of the Companys business is more commodious for receiveing of advices from and issueing of orders to, all subordinate ffactoryes.

"Wherefore it is thought Convenient that the Cheife and Councell of the BAY doe reside at HUGLY, and upon the dispatch of the EUROPE ships the Cheife and the Councell or some of them (as shall be thought Convenient) doe yearly goe downe to BALASORE soe well to expedite the dispatch of the ships as to make inspection into the affaires of BALLASORE ffactory. And the Councill did likewise Conclude that it was requisite a like inspection should be yearly made into the affaires in the ffactory at CASSAMBAZAR, the Honble Companys principall concernes of sales and investments in the BAY lyeing in those two places, and the expence of such visitation will be very small, by reason of Conveniency of travelling in these Countreys by land or water."

November 8th, Master left Kásimbázár for Húglí. He writes:

"Whilst I was at CASSAMBAZAR which was about six weekes time, the water did fall in the river about 5 fathoms right up and done (*sic*). All the Country, or great part thereof, about CASSAMBAZAR is planted or sett with Mullberry trees, the leaves of which are gathered young to feed the Worms with, and make the silk fine, and therefore the trees are planted every yeare. The soile of BENGALA is very fertile being a kind of a loose fat earth and in some places a fatt sand. There is not one mountaine or Hill to be seen about HUGLY or CASSAMBAZAR, the Countrey being all plaine and levell, and tho' anything will grow by reason of the fertileness of the soile, yett firewood is scarce, and timber bad and very deare. The Towne of CASSAMBAZAR is about two miles long, and in some places the streets where the markets are kept are soe narrow that a Pallanqueen can but just pass in them."

November 23rd (at Húglí).

"Mr. HERVY representing to the Councell that the Companys House in DACCA is very streight, and not capable to receive and secure the Honble. Company's goods by reason of several thatcht hovells within and round about the *compound*, which are very dangerous in respect of fire, which often happens in DACCA. The Councell did therefore order that brick buildings be forthwith erected to secure the Companys goods, not exceeding one thousand rupees for this yeare, and that due accompts be kept of the Perticulars thereof."

November 25th.

"There being a spott of ground, part of the *Compound* of the Companyes ffactory which lyes conveniently neare the river side, it was thought fitt to repaire and enclose it, and to sett up *Bungales* or Houells for a habitation for all such ENGLISH in the Companyes Service as belong their Sloope and vessells (by name

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of the *Bundar*) as there is at SURRATT, and those that now live out in houses of their owne by degrees to be brought in within that *Compound*, and all others that shall come hereafter to live within the same, and to be allowed to build such accommodation as they shall desire if they be marryed, and all persons soe liveing to be under the inspection of the Purser-marine, and to live under such orders as they shall receive from time to time from the Cheife and Councell."

A further resolution for rebuilding part of the factory, and much extending it, follows. All this eventually, when the Court turned against Master, was cast in his teeth as extravagance.

29th November. Mr. Master left Húglí to go down the river. He notes under this date that "from HUGLY boates may, and sometimes doe goe to AGRA".

30th. "About nine a Clock this moreneing (*sic*) wee past by CHANOCK,[1] and about noone overtook the Eight *Boraes*[2] that two days since we sent from Hugly laden with salt petre, and about two a Clock wee came to anchor at TANNA.

"TANNAY is distant from HUGLY about 40 miles by water, and twenty miles by land. There stands an old fort of mud walls which was built to prevent the incursions of the ARRACANERS, for it seems about ten or twelve yeares since they were soe bold that none durst inhabit Lower downe the river then this place. The ARACANNERS usually takeing the People of the shoare to sell them at PIPLEY.[3]

"Decr. 1st. This morning tide we gett out of HUGLY river into the great river, and found the soundings to be from three to thirteen fathome gradually Deepening"....

"2d. We sailed by KEDGEREE and the Island of INGEELEY, leaving the ile of COCKES and the ARRACAN shoare on our Larboard side to the East. At INGEELEY is a Fort that was built by one Capt. DUDSON, who came out in Squire Curteins service, and lost his ship in BALLASORE river, then served the Moores."[4] ...

"3d. Sunday: Wee lay upon the Sands called the Braces all this day, haveing small winds and very smooth sea."

"4th. Arrived at Balasore."

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"11th. Mr. CLAVELL's three Persian horses were sent hence toward DACCA, one valued at 900: one at 1200: and the other at 1400 Rupees."

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[1] Near the site of modern Barrackpúr (see p. xcix).

[2] Beng. *bhaḍa* (pron. *bhoṛa*, a cargo-boat). [3] Printed *Tiple*, i, p. 32

[4] Sir William Curtein, or Courtens, gave his name to a private adventure which was got up under Charles I, with a licence from the king (obtained apparently through Endymion Porter, who was an associate) in 1635-6, in opposition to the Company, and continued for some fifteen years. In 1649, the adventurers took the name of the *Assada Merchants*, from a settlement they had attempted on an island off Madagascar. Eventually they came to an agreement with the Company, in the formation of what was called the United Stock (21 Nov. 1649). Capt. *Durston* (perhaps the Dudson of the Journal), was one of their commanders (see Bruce, i, 444).

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"Decr. 20th, 1676. BENGALA is at Present in a very bad condition by means of the great exactions on the People. The Nabob being ancient, and extreamly coveteous, and his officers long experienced in the business of these Countreys, there are noe Wayes of extortion omitted whereby to gratifie their master's humour, and HUGLY being in his *Jaggeer* for his own pay, and that and BALLASORE both under one mans Government makes Merchants business very troublesome. . . .

"The houses in BENGALA are all made of mudd, dug out of the ground, by which almost every house hath a holefull of water standing by it, which may be one reason why the Countrey is unwholesome."[1]

December 21st. Master sailed from Balasore.

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"Decr. 23d. We sailed in sight of the BLACK PAGODA and the WHITE PAGODA. The latter is that place called JUGGERNAT, to which the HINDUES from all parts of India come on pilgrimages."

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31st. Master went on shore at Metchlepatam.

"Senior[2] PETER SMITH Cheife for the Dutch of this place lyes very dangerous sick, Senr. HARTSINCK their Cheife of GOLCONDAH Mr. Smith's half brother is come downe to see him being to succeed him in this place."

Under January 1st there is a letter inserted from RICHARD MOHUN, calling for an investigation of the charges brought against him by Mr. MAINWARING, and of his charges against Mr. MAINWARING.

The Council, in reply, say it is impossible to take up these questions just now, when all their attention is demanded in preparing the shipments.

January 11th. Master sails from Metchlepatam.

January 17th, arrives at MADRAS.

Appended to his Diary of this Visitation are Papers on the Trade, etc., of HUGLY and of BALLASORE, by Mr. CLAVELL; of PATTANA (Patna), by Mr. JOHN MARSHALL; of MALDA, by Mr. R. EDWARDS; and of METCHLEPATAM, by Mr. CHRISTOPHER HATTON. I give a few passages:

From "Mr. W. CLAVELL'S *Accompt of the Trade of* HUGLY."

"Since the year 1663 or thereabouts, that Nabob SHASTI CHAUN the present King's Uncle became Suba or Viceroy of BENGALE, and obtained HUGLY as part of his *Jaggere* (or Lands assigned him for his Person) his servants being made soe far Governours as to receive all the rents, profitts, Perquisites, fines, Customes &ca. of the place, the Kings Governour hath little more then the name, and for the most part sits Still whilst the Nabobs officers oppress the People and monopolize most Commodityes even as low as grass for Beasts, canes,

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[1] It is still one of the reasons.

[2] I have elsewhere noticed how this style *Signor* is curiously applied to gentlemen of all foreign nationalities except French. It is even applied in the Indian Records to a Chinaman, "Signor Anqua."

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fire wood, thatch, &ca., nor doe they want wayes to oppress the people of all sorts who trade, whether natives or Strangers, since whatever they doe, when complained of to Dacca, is palliated under the name and Colour of the Nabob's Interest. And that the Nabobs officers may without controule drive the trade of the place, there is sent from Dacca, or detained out of the rents twenty or fourty Thousand Rupees yearly, to be imployed in Merchandize which is distributed amongst the Hindue merchants of the Towne, to each in proportion, for which they agree to give twenty-five p. 100 p. *annum*, but are called upon at 6: or 8: moneths end to make up there accompts, and pay the principall with advance of a yeare, by which meanes it sometimes happens that the merchants pay 50 p. 100 to the Nabob and Governours p. *annum*, draining themselves by this unhappy trade with him and his ministers of the whole advantages they make of their other Traffick.

"And yett as if this were not enough to impoverish them, the Governour whenever he hath any goods on his hands calls for them, and distributes amongst them what quantity he pleaseth, at 10: to 15: p. 100 higher then the markets for time, and they pay ready money.

"Nor doth this exempt them from *piscashing* the Nabobs *Crewry*,[1] or Governour with small presents, at all feasts, his or his Sonns birth dayes, Circumcisions, Marriadges, or his goeing to or coming from DACCA, makeing up accompts and Compounding for his Rogueries, nay it hath in my time happened that when the Nabob and his officers at DACCA have squeezed him much, and yett he his (*sic*) soe Lucky as to returne to his former imployment, there hath binn a tax laid upon the whole Government under hand, for the raising of the summe expended, which some one or two fearefull person have been brought to comply with, and afterwards none of the rest have dared to withstand."

"About HUGLY there live many weavers who weave cotton cloth, and cotton and *Tesser* or *Herba* of severall sorts, and from the parts thereabouts there is brought silk, sugar, Opium, rice, Wheat, Oyle, Butter, course hempe, *gunnyes*, and many other commodityes. The way of procureing these is to agree upon musters with the merchants of HUGLY, or to send Bannians who can give Security, to buy them on our accounts in the places where they are made or procurable at cheapest hands, and whether wee use, one way or other we give passes in the ENGLISH name, for the bringing those goods free of custome, and all those places have soe great a convenience that most of the goods are brought by water, unless from the places near unto HUGLY which lye thwart the Countrey.

"The Goods we sell in HUGLY by merchants there are upon time, or ready money, but which way soever it is that wee sell them, wee give passes and send them out in our names to avoide the merchants paying custome, which otherwise they would not doe, and wee are forced to abate in the price proportionate. . . .

"Our Shipps, if wee had more Pilotts whom wee could oblige to stay, after

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[1] *Krorí* or *Karorí*. "The lands which paid rents into the imperial exchequer, were separated from the *Jágír* lands; and zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *Krór* of *dáms*." *Aín-i-Akbarí*, by *Blochmann*, I. 13. A *crore* of dáms=250,000 rupees. The *Krorí*, besides being a collector of revenue, was also at various times invested with the general superintendence of the lands and with charge of the police. See *Wilson's Glossary*, s. v.

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they had obtained some experience, either by ingageing them in familyes, or by giveing them good wages, might with much more care goe over the BRACES, and come up HUGLY river, then they can goe out of the DOWNES into the River of LONDON. . . .

"They (the Dutch) carry home rice, oyle, Butter, hemp, cordage, saile cloth, raw silk, silk wrought, salt petre, opium, Turminck, *Neelaes*, Ginghams, Tapits, *Brawles* or Slave cloutes, *achee Beagues* (?), sugar, Long pepper, and Bees wax, as much as they can gett. . . .

"The Portugueez, though numerous in HUGLY, yett are reduced to a very low and meane Condition, their trade not worth mentioning, their subsistance being to be entertained in the Mogulls pay as Souldiers. . . ."

From "*Accompt of the Trade of* BALLASORE."

"S^r^, BALLASORE begunn to be a noted place when the PORTUGUEZ were beaten out of ANGELIN[1] by the MOORES, about the yeare 1636; at which time the trade began to decay at PIPLEY, and to have a diminution in other places of these parts; and the Barr opening and the River appearing better than was imagined. The ENGLISH and the DANES endeavoured to settle ffactoryes here, to be out of the troubles the PORTUGUEZ gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of HARRAPORE,[2] where our first ffactorye was settled was without much difficultys to be brought hither by land, and the River where our Vessells usually had laine at being stopt up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessells ride before that place, as here in the Roade of BALLASORE.

"And the Raja of TILLBICH RUMBUNG, his Countrey lyeng neare this place where the greatest quantitye of *Tesser* or *Herba* is procurable, a Settlement was thought the more convenient because Ginghams, Herba Taffetyes, Herba Lungee, and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither, and noe where so good Herba goods procurable, The waters of CASHARRY[3] giveing the most lasting dye to them, and within two dayes journey of this place."

From "Mr. MARSHALL'S *Accompt of the Trade of* PATTANA."

"PATTANA lyes in the latitude of 25: degrees and ( ) minutes *inter Gangem* and in Pleasant Place. The Honble. Company have no ffactory here but what (they) hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabob's Pallace is in the Citty, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire yett

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1 Angelin, Ingerley, Hidgelee, *Hijili*.

2 "Harrapore" must be the same as the "Harharrapoore" of W. Bruton, where the first English factory in the Bay was founded in May 1632 (see Bruton's narrative in the enlarged *Hakluyt* of 1812, vol. v, p. 55). This name (*Hariharpúr*) still attaches to a pergunnah in the Mahánadí Delta, S.E. of Cuttack. But I am not able to identify the great "towne, in bounds sixe or seuen miles in compasse", which Bruton describes. The port at which Bruton's party landed is called by him "Harssapoore" and "Hassarpoore". It must have been the *Hurrichpoor Gur* of the Indian Atlas.

3 Probably Kásiári, in Midnapúr District (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v. *Adati*).

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they are not satisfied therewith, but (cause) great trouble, and if given what they desire will be very chargeable, which in conveniency is prevented by liveing at SINGEE, which lyes north of PATTANA about ten or twelve miles, *Extra Gangem*, and is Scittuated in a pleasant, but not whole(some) place, by reason of its being most Salt peter ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for Salt peter men live not far from it . . . ."[1]

From "Mr. CHRISTOPHER HATTON'S *Accompt of the Trade of* METCHLEPATAM."

"Arriving first in the year 1657, at which time I found this place in a very flourishing condition, 20: sayle of ships of good burden belonging to the native inhabitants here, constantly imployed in voyages to ARRACAN, PEGU, TENASSERY, JUNCCELOAN, MALLACCA, JOHORE, ATCHEEN, MOCA, PERSIA, and the MALDIVA *Islands* . . . ."

A letter written about this time (Jan. 10, 1677-8) by a cousin of Master's, Mrs. Oxenden of Deane, to her brother-in-law Christopher Oxenden, a servant of the Company in Bengal (and who died at Kásimbázár before the letter was written, September 29th, 1677), speaks of Streynsham Master:

"Before this can come to your hands, I suppose you will be made a Factor, from which I wish you may in due time be advanced to those places of profit and honour you can desire your self or your ffriends for you. INDIA hath been a fortunate place to our Relations, I hope the like good success will always attend you. My Brother HARRY likes living at SURAT so well, that he cannot yet resolve when he shall return to ENGLAND. I believe 'tis a great satisfaction to you sometimes to see, and be with my Cosen, STREYNSHAM MASTER, tho' you may not constantly reside together. He is so wise and experienced a Person, that his advice cannot but be very beneficiall and instructive to you. . . . ."

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[1] I was not (p. xlvii *supra*) able to identify *Singee* or *Singe*, looking for it on the Patna side of the Ganges. But this shows that it was the still existing SINGHIYA, near LALGANJ on the left bank of the Gandak River, about fifteen miles north of Patna.

The *Stat. Acct. of Bengal* (xiii, 73) says :—"This (SINGHIYA) was originally a settlement of the DUTCH E. I. Company for manufacturing saltpetre, and was one of the first factories occupied by Europeans in TIRHUT. A copy of a deed of sale, dated the 29th October 1791, still exists, from which it seems that this factory . . . . was sold by auction . . . . by the representative of the DUTCH E. I. Co. . . . . In the old records (presumably of the District) it is constantly referred to." . . . .

We learn, however, from what has occurred in these pages, that SINGHIYA was occupied by EUROPEANS nearly 120 years before 1791, and that the original occupants were the ENGLISH. Probably it passed to the DUTCH when the out-factories were withdrawn, about 1690.

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In a Postscript,

"Good Brother, by Capt. BASS I send you a small box in which is a crevat and cufs and riben, of the newest mode, with a border of lace for your night cap, which I desire your acceptance of as a mark of my gratitude for your favours; I wish you would let me know what sort of things you want in INDIA, that I might supply you; if these I now send may be usefull, 'twill much please me."[1]

Sir William Langhorne went home in the end of 1677, and Master duly succeeded him as Agent and Governor. Besides what has been published by Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time* (Madras, 1861, vol. i), some extracts from the Madras Records, giving matter which is not to be found at the India Office, were published (but not well edited) at Madras, in 1871-73, under the title of *Notes and Extracts*, from which we may glean a little. Master, in the early days of his government, founded the first English Church in India, viz., the Church of St. Mary in the Fort at Madras:

"Easter Munday," (1st April 1678).

"The foundations of the English Church (to be built with the voluntary contributions of the English in these parts) was begun to be laid, and in respect that it was lined out, and the ground first broken up, upon Lady Day last, 'tis intended to be called St. Mary's, and will be 80 foot long, 56 foot broad within the walls, and built with 3 iles arched with brick and Stone."[2]

A paper in Streynsham Master's handwriting (among the *Master Papers*) is headed—

"*For the Building of a Church in ye Towne of* MADRASPATAM, September 26, 1677.

"Wee under written doe oblidge our selves to pay vpon demand into the hands of Mr. JOHN BRIDGER and Mr. RICHARD PORTMAN Minister our severall subscriptions:

STREYNSHAM MASTER	- - -	Pags. 100
JOSEPH HYNMERS	- - -	,, 80
EDWARD HERRYS	- - -	,, 80
JOHN BRIDGER	- - -	,, 60
WILLIAM JEARSEY	- - -	,, 60
	and a 'Saints' Bell'."	.....

and so on; the whole number of subscribers being thirty-eight, and the amount 805 pagodas, or about £400 at the exchange of those days.

Mr. Master, on 16th March 1678-9, started on a land journey to Masulipatam, via Pulicat, Armagon, and Pettepolee.[3] It is not expressly stated how the party travelled, but apparently on horseback. The

[1] *Master Papers.* The refinement of this lady's letter, which is long, is refreshingly in contrast with many of our past extracts from the records.

[2] *Notes*, etc., No. I, p. 72.

[3] Otherwise Nizámpatam, near mouth of the Kistna River.

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return was made by Madapollam and Nursapore, Pollicull (*Pálakollu*, a Dutch factory[1]) and Ellore,[2] with a diversion to see the diamond mines at Gullapallee.[3] Thence thèy proceeded to Bezwáda by "Mellwillee and Raizpent":

> "**Large towns where all the people are well favoured, well clothed, and looked as though they were fed well to undergoe their hot and greate laboures in the mines . . . . the country pleasant, like England about London.**"[4]

At Alloor they rejoined their route in coming, and followed it to Madras (25th April).

16th July 1679. On renewing the debate as to the manner of carrying out the Company's orders for the settlement of the factories in the Bay, it was resolved that the agent should visit and settle the affairs of those factories, embarking on one of the ships then going to the Bay, with Mr. Mohun of the Council, one of the chaplains, the Secretary, and some of the young men; Mr. Joseph Hynmers remaining at the fort with the style of Deputy-Governor.[5]

Mr. Master having so lately made this tour, one conceives that he found it agreeable, as he repeated it so soon, but with a retinue so much expanded; a matter that did not please the Court, as we shall see.

On the 1st August, accordingly, the party embarked on the *Golden Fleece*; it consisted, besides Mr. Master and Mr. Mohùn, of Mr. Nicks the Secretary, and Mr. Richard Elliott, Chaplain, with two writers, an ensign, and thirteen soldiers, besides peons and palankin-boys. After a halt at Masulipatam of five days they sailed for Balasore, where they arrived on the 17th August and stopped till 10th September, reaching Húglí on the 16th. In November Kásimbázár was visited. Húglí was not quitted again for the coast till the 16th December. But there is nothing of sufficient interest to transcribe here. On 26th January

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[1] "About 5 miles north of Nursapore . . . on the canal from Vijeshwaram to Nursapore . . . . The Dutch settled here before the middle of the seventeenth century. In the quiet graveyard, shaded by orange-trees, there are several tombs still in good preservation."—*Mr. Henry Morris, Hist. and Desc. Acct. of the* GODAVERY *District*, 1878, p. 196.

[2] "One of the greatest Towns in this Country, where are made the best carpetts after the manner of those in Persia by a race of Persians which they told us came over about 100 years agoe."—*Notes*, etc., No. II, p. 34. The Ellore carpets still retain their reputation.

[3] The *Gollapilly* of our Maps, 24 miles N.E. of Bezwáda. Mellwillee is *Malavily* or *Muleli*, a few miles south of Gollapilly. "Alloor" (not to be confounded with Ellore) I do not find in the Indian Atlas, but it is in a Dutch Map in *Valentyn*, vol. v, and must be in Gantúr district.

[4] *Notes*, etc., No. II, p. 35.

[5] *Ib.*, No. II, p. 16.

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1679-80, the agent again entered Fort St. George "and so ended this troublesome voyage."[1]

In the following April we find a memorandum in his handwriting:

"1680, April 11.—Easter day, to Returne all due acknowledgment and gratitude and thankfulness for preserving me from perils, dangers and evill accidents in my Travells by land and by sea, giving me health and strength to performe my Imployment and giving me grace in the sight of others to help and assist me therein."

For a time in the early part of Master's government the Coast was thrown into alarm by the approach of the Governor's old acquaintance Sivaji, who had invaded the Carnatic. Master also in 1680 attempted to initiate or renew a trade with Burma, drafting "Articles of Commerce to be proposed to the King of Barma and Pegu, in behalfe of the English Nation, for the settling of a Trade in those Countries," but little or nothing seems then to have come of it. It is plain also from his own detailed record (in the *Master Papers*) that he did much for the regulation and improvement of all branches of the administration, which had fallen under Sir W. Langhorne into great laxity.

Master himself, in the largely detailed chronological memorandum of his services, just referred to, says—

"Through much patience and hazard I endured to stay for the Agency and to out Sr William Langhorne thereof, who very hardly brooked leaving the Imployment, and, had he stayed, the Companys affaires under the Agency had never been brought into order and method, but would have been euer in confusion as they have been all his time, and it hath cost me much care and watchfulness to keep them in some degree of order since my returne from the Bay and Metchlepatam untill his Imbarquing for England; and Edward Herris his goeing home with Sr William Langhorne is to be attributed to me, for I found he ever Imbroiled the Companys affaires."[2]

Master, in writing to his elder brother James, January 28th, 1680-81, shows some presentiment of the treatment he was likely to receive from the Court, whilst his words also show that he had amassed wealth:

"I doe very much wonder at your letter of 8th January 1679, which you have not set your hand to, for privacy sake I suppose, in regard it was not long since you writt me you should be able to rub through this world with a little help, or to that purpose, as I remember, wherefore haveing given you some help, I hoped it had not been soe bad with you as you now make knowne, which had you done sooner you should this last year have had some better assistance. But you must know that I have (as much as I could) avoyded sending any great matters home untill I am in euery respect prepared for my own Returne; because I have observ'd our Company are very ungratefull and cruell to a man that hath got an Estate in their Service, altho' he have done them a hundred times more service, and 'tis almost impossible to conceale ones Estate from them . . . ."

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[1] p. 75.

[2] *Master Papers*, No. 10.

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When Master was receiving his commission from Sir Nathaniel Herne, then Governor of the Company, at Christmas 1675, just before his departure, with a prevision arising, no doubt, from experience of the ways of the Court, he had, as his Diary states:

"Requested this favour, That if during my Imployment there should come any Informations against me, the Honble: Court would be pleased to suspend their Judgement, and not Censure me untill they should allsoe receive my defence or answer thereunto.

"To which the Governour was pleased to reply that the Court in such cases did use to send such Informations back to INDIA to the partyes concerned, there to be examined."

But I am by no means satisfied that any such investigation was entered on in regard to Mr. Master's conduct in his government, though it was condemned by the Court, for reasons which, as conveyed in their correspondence, suggest no grounds that justify the severity of their censure. He was recalled in their letter dated 5th January 1680-81; the appointment of his successor, Mr. W. GYFFORD, having been made in a Commission dated 29th December 1680.

One of the family letters in the Rev. G. S. Master's collection, addressed to Governor Master, January 12th, 1677-8, by Sir James Oxenden of Dean, shows that from an early date there had been a strong party, and much intrigue, against the former, in the East India House; even the King himself having been gained over to make an attempt at persuading the Court to break faith with Streynsham Master, and to extend the Government of Sir W. Langhorne for two years. The letter is very long; I give one or two extracts.

"I find the Comittee in generall well pleas'd with the Regulations you have made in their affaires, and particularly with the large memoriall you sent them, which is accounted very laborious and judicious. It hath been left to Mr. PAPILLON to abreviate it, and report what hee thinks most important in the Company's Interest. The poore massacred Mr. ARNOLD WHITE[1] sent also a Memoriall of the same nature but not half so long and well esteemed.

"I have so well represented the Impertinent Nonsensicall and Malicious charge of Mr. JOSEPH ARNOLD against you That his greatest ffriends are asham'd of itt, and most of the Comittee look upon it as very idle and the effect of an overheated braine, and therefore by their generall Letters this yeare have sent him a severe reprimand and check for his Drinking and debauchery . . . . Discoursing with Mr. PAPILLON about the differences which might arise concerning the Ministers by reason of the contrariety of their Principles, and that it was best to send All of one stamp, Hee did not seeme to resent in the least

[1] In April 1677, Mr. White, Agent at Bantam, with his second and the principal servants of the agency, having gone up the river of Bantam in three boats, were attacked by a number of Javanese, who sprang upon each boat as it advanced, and stabbed the Englishmen with their lances. (See *Bruce*, ii, 404.)

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what had happened between you and them, but only said you were a little too rigid a Church of England man, and had not latitude enough . . . .

"I perceive our Friend Mr. GERARD AUNGIER doth not now att last please the Comittee and others. They all say hee is making vp his Bundell and sends home bad Commoditys to the Company, and good of the same kinde to some others of his particular ffriends . . . . But he hath done himself a particular discredit by a piece of Indiscretion in writing to Sr MATTHEW ANDREWES, Mr. GOODIER, Mr. CRADOCK and Others, wherein he tells every one of them particularly that Hee is most worthy to bee his Successor, and wishes it were so, and to the Company hee says Mr. BOLT is best worthy to succeed him . . . . they have all mett together and shown their letters to one another and some of the Company, and despise him as the greatest Dissembler in nature."

In a letter to Master, dated 5th January 1680-81, the Court write as follows:

"Mr. STREYNSHAM MASTER, Finding by your Indentures bearing date the 16th of December 1675, That your five yeares Service for Vs wilbe expired by the 7th July next, Wee have, after serious debate found it expedient for our service, and resolved by the Ballott, that upon the arivall of this years Shipping at the FORT you be dismissed our employment, and sent for home by this Shipping; Notwithstanding which, if it fall out soe, that by reason of your owne busines, you cannot without damage to your Selfe, come home by this yeares Shipping, In such case Wee are content that you doe stay within our Town of MADRASPATAM, and under our Goverament there at your own charge, or otherwise as wee have directed by our Commission, one yeare longer to dispatch your owne affaires; And if it should soe happen that our Ships should arrive at our Fort some time before the said 7th of July next . . . . before your foresaid time by Indenture is fully out; wee shall however pay you your full Sallary, and gratuity as if you had served Vs your full time of 5 yeares."

After their manner in those days, the Court write with great severity of their retiring agent. Some examples of this fashion of theirs I have quoted already at p. xx. The scornful and haughty tone of the Fort letters to the Court under Master's government, as well as under that of his predecessor Langhorne, is frequently rebuked in strong language. Of Master's letters in this kind I have found no examples, the Madras correspondence in the I. O. at this time being exceedingly defective. But his visitation of the Bay factories also draws forth pungent expressions of their dissatisfaction. Thus (5th January 1681):

"We have read over all your Consultation Book, and considered well of our Loss and Gaine by Agent MASTERS'S *Progress* (as we may call it) being attended with such a Princely traine and charge . . . . And to be plaine with you, not in that Ironicall sense you used that word as before mentioned, but in truth and reality, Wee doe thinke our loss and expence thereby doth much overballance any advantage we have, or may hereafter reep by it . . . ."

They proceed to speak more particularly of the great expense, against which (they allege) were to be set only vague proposals of retrenchment at the factories; of the orders given for the erection of brick buildings at various places visited; and of other acts which they named. In

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regard to the culpable supercession of Mr. Charnock (as they considered it) quotation has already been made (p. xlviii). Delay in despatch of the season's shipping was also cast in Master's teeth. After grudging approval of some things that he had done, they go on:

"There you see Wee are willing to owne what was wel done by that Agent; but his disobeying us in setling of the Chiefship at CASSAMBUZAR was very dissatisfactory, and also his reasons alledged for it *are altogether indiscreet and impertinent*,[1] vizt: for our better service and the speedier despatch of our Ships; whereas on the Contrary, our service at the BAY and CASSAMBUZAR was never worse performed, never were Wee more disappointed in the quantity of Raw silk and Taffaties Wee expected and wrott for, never had Wee worse sorted goods from the BAY, never were all our proxies and Bills of Ladeing left behind before, our Ships never dispatched with greater danger of looseing the Monzoons."

Also:

"Wee shal encrease noe Sallaries, nor make any further allowance to Our Servants then Wee have done. The late Agent MASTERS haveing so burthened us with motions of that Kinde, that he hath turned our Stomacks against them. To be free with you, it looks like a designe of an espousing, endeavouring, and setting up a separatt interest against your Employers at home; which is as vaine in the attempt as it would prove monstrous and detestable in the event."

And with an assumed apprehension of Master's imitating Sir Edward Winter in the forcible retention of his position, they go on:

"Altho' we doubt not but our late Agent MASTER did give due obedience to the King's orders and ours for resigning our ffort and Government of FFORT ST. GEORGE and towne of MADRASS PATAM to our last appointed Agent WILLIAM GYFFORD Esq. and the other persons we ordered last year to be of Council there, yet to prevent the worst that Mad men may do, We have ordered our Ships to deliver no letters on Shore, till they are Satisfied that our affairs there are under that Management and regulation which Wee appointed by our last years letters."

At a later period of the same year they wrote again (18 Nov. 1681):

"By the *Sampson* . . . . we received our late Agent MASTER and Councell's letters of the 13th September and 20th December, in which he followeth his old straine of errours, pride, and offence, which we shall not further endeavour to confute or convince him of, but leave him now at his greater leasure, freed from the Temptation and incumbrance of that greatness and immensitie of gaine which our Bounty had confer'd upon him, to recollect himself, and consider whether he did well or wisely for himself, or honestly by us . . . .

"We do likewise enjoyn you (all excuses set apart) to send home by this year's Shipping Mr. STREYNSHAM MASTER, Mr. JOHN CHOLMLEY, and Mr. WILLIAM JEARSEY except he do forthwith cleer his accompt with us, and pay the ballance into our Cash there."

And again, 20th September 1682, with unabated bitterness:

"We observe the excess of Mr. MASTERS injustice to the natives and shall do

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[1] These words in the office copy have a line of erasure drawn through them. *Impertinent* is in the old sense, a shade stronger than *irrelevant*.

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them full right when that matter is ripe for our determination, which yet we have not had time to enter upon; and he will find him Selfe extreamly deceiv'd in his notion that INDIANS are not good witnesses in Our Law, their Testimony haveing been admitted in former hearings before My Lord Chancellor."

They continue (27th October 1682):

"We do hereby order you to seis upon and attach by due process out of your Courts, all such goods and effects as you shall meet with in the Country belonging unto Mr. STREYNSHAM MASTERS Our late Agent, towards the reparation of the damage the Natives have sustained by his unjust dealings with them."

And once more, in a letter addressed to "Our *Chief Merchants*[1] at MADRASSPATAM," 3rd November 1682:

"Though we must tell you, as We have often Our Agent and Councell, that all our goods provided by you and VERONA your Partener and Relation deceased, did come 15 or 20 per cent. in many sorts worse then Our Musters, for 3 or 4 years before the arrivall of our present Agent Mr. GYFFORD, by which you gain'd Unjustly and We were exceeding great Loosers.

"Yet we disown and abhor those oppressive and violent proceedings used against you by our late Agent STREYNSHAM MASTER, from whom We are endeavouring to recover Satisfaction for you, but that will be a worke of some time, in regard his estate is concealed . . . .

"Yet that you may never suffer such a kind hereafter We have made a Law for Our Towne of MADRASSE, that will be a Security to you and your posteritie and all the natives in INDIA that shall hereafter inhabit under your Government."

This was the way the old Court had—to embrace the coming, kick the parting guest!

I shall not attempt to judge between Master and the rulers of the Company, to do which, with any sufficiency, would (if it were at all possible) require a much longer research than circumstances permit or demand. We shall see presently that, as regarded the Native Merchants, the ex-Governor claimed the balance as quite on the other side of the ledger. And the general impression from my readings in the records is, that there was no substantial ground for the charges hinted, rather than directly made, against him.

Master has transcribed an extract from a letter of Sir Josia Child to him, dated 20th December 1680. The extract, however, throws no light on Sir Josia's motives for assenting to Master's supercession:

"You will probably wonder at the comeing of a New Agent, and more to hear that I was one of them that voted for him, which I assure you was not from any unkindness to you, for I noe more intended this chang when I wrott last to you, then I did the changing of my Wife, which noe man living hath less reason to desire then my Selfe . . . ."

The transfer of the Agency to Gyfford was made 3rd July 1681.

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[1] *I.e.*, native merchants.

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There is not much that we find regarding Master in the years following his retirement from Madras. In 1690 (September 25th) he took to himself a second wife in the person of Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Legh of Lyme in Cheshire; in 1692 he purchased the Codnor Park Estate in Derbyshire; in 1698 he sold Wallett's Court in Kent, and purchased Stanley Grange, near Morley in Derbyshire. These are fresh indications that he brought wealth home from India.

In the year last mentioned (1698) we find Master appearing in connection with the New, or ENGLISH, East India Company, which was established in that year. As we have more than once had occasion to notice, this body numbered among its officers many who had been dismissed or recalcitrant servants of the Old Company, a circumstance which in various instances turned to its disadvantage, leading the Company to place confidence in such men as Littleton, Waite, and John Pitt, who proved themselves as little capable of good and faithful service under the New Company as under the Old.

Both Littleton and Master were chosen among the first Directors of the New Company. Littleton became their President in Bengal, and Sir Edward. Master became also Sir Streynsham, being knighted by King William in the Drawing-Room at Kensington, 14th December 1698, on the presentation of an address to welcome His Majesty's return from the Continent. In a quaint letter to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Legh of Lyme, Master explains the circumstances under which the honour fell to him:[1]

"Honrd: Madam,

"I Received your Congratulatory Letter the 23d last month, and have a Story of your Daughter to tell you in Returne, you know She bears the Title of the Lyer of RED LYON SQUARE, and to keep up to that, she told Cosin GRISILL MAINWARING but a few days before she was a Lady, that it was soe to be, not thinking anything of it. Coz. MAINWARING tells this to Lady CHICHELEY and Soe it passes for a designe of ours, whereas in truth twas all pure chance, by falling to my turne to be Chairman of the Court of Directors that weeke[2] and soe I was to make the Address to the King, which was intended the weeke before and then must have fallen to Another, but the King not being at leasure it fell a weeke later then intended....

"London, RED LYON SQUARE, Jan: 5: 1698" (-9).

In the proceedings of the Court of the Old Company (25th January 1698-99) we find Sir STREYNSHAM MASTER and Sir JAMES BATEMAN then came into Court as a deputation from the New Company, to reply to two papers which had been delivered to the latter by Sir JOHN LETHIEULLIER and Sir WILLIAM HEDGES.

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[1] *Master Papers.*

[2] The Governor of the Old Company was elected for a year, but in the New Company the Directors took the Chair by weekly rotation.

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In Governor Pitt's Letter-book I find a letter from him to Master, dated "FORT ST. GEORGE, ffeby. the 21st, $\frac{1699}{1700}$":

"Sr. I wrote you by the *ffame* and sent you a Copy thereof by the *Martha*. I have not as yet receiv'd that mony of KISNAH by reason of writing for some persons comeing out of the Countrey who were to prove the delivery of the Silk, and I hope to recover something of ALLINGALL's Son for you . . . .

"It is generally reported that none of your new Company's Ships will goe home this year from this Side; if your President and Consull, as you call him, had but behav'd him Selfe Mannerly, I would have, for your Sake and the Rest of my ffriends Concern'd, ffreighted one of your Ships for our Companys account. A line from you would have been acceptable, and when I heard of an Embassador comeing hither, I expected it would have been Collonell Oxindon, and little dreamt of the gentleman that is come.[1] My service to you and freinds, whether they are old Company or New Company."

To this Master replies in a letter dated "LONDON, RED LYON SQUARE, Februa. 15: 170½."[2]

"Sr. My last to you was by Ship *Dutchess*, dated the 9th January 1700" (*i.e.*, 1701) "Since, I have not been happyed by any from you.

"In that letter I mentioned severall Debts owing to me, and you were pleased to give me hopes of Recovering those of ALLINGAL and KISNA, which tho' Considerable, yet there are others Allsoe as great, which I make bold once more to enumerate to you vizt:

		Debt.
"The COMPANY MERCHANTS for Mony lent them as by Acco^{ts}: sent out by your Selfe -		P^a: 6525: 9: 1
"VYDEPA the *Dymond Merchant* upon Mony Delivered SURAPA to send him - - -		P^a: 1240: 35: 2
"GRUAPA for *Looking Glasses* sent to GULCONDAH by him, being Recommended by SURAPA		P^a: 316: —: —
"Mr. JOSEPH HILLER upon Bond on Respondentia to BANTAM in SURAPA's name - -		P^a: 270: —: —
"SURAPA's owne Debt by Acco^t: which I sent out by your selfe		P^a: 4588: —: —
"For these five Sumes I reckon Surapa Accountable being -		P^a: 13440: 20: 2[3]
"ALLINGA PILLA owes -	P^a: 5390: 24: 0	
"Silke sold by him - -	P^a: 1000: —: —	
"DEGANA Deceased - -	P^a: 515: 7: —	
"Old KISNA - - -	P^a: 100: —: —	
"THO: CLARKE - -	P^a: 200: —: —	
"Capt. JAMES BETT - -	P^a: 200: —: —	
		7405: 31: 0
		P^a: 20846: 15: 2."[3]

[1] Sir Wm. Norris.

[2] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,857, f. 168.

[3] There is some error in these totals, which I cannot correct.

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That is to say something near £7,000. He had offered Pitt, when the latter went out as Governor, 10 per cent. commission for the recovery of the money, and 5 per cent. more to invest the money in diamonds, but if this were not deemed enough compensation for the trouble he would now offer 20 per cent. in all:

"Wonderful unhappy Man I am, who settled such a beneficiall contract for the Company and all my successors, and can not only Reap noe benefit thereby to myselfe, but on the contrary sustaine soe great loss, as my just demands are upon money lent and supplied out of Kindness and Respect, both to the Marchants and to the Company; if you do not find means to assist me therein, tis such a vexatious wound to be thus ill-treated, that rather than bear it I may be provoked to apply to my old Masters for Redress.

"For the Union of both Companys you will have a better Accompt thereof from your Masters then any other. You have been very Industrious in obstructing the ambassadors proceeding to the GREAT MOGULL'S Camp,[1] in which I doubt not you have observed the Directions you had from ENGLAND, which in my apprehension have been very ill grounded, for the contrary had been the Old Company's Interest, to have made use of the Embassy in compounding and composeing all their Debts and Depredations, whereby they might have saved great Summes, and all the Expense they have been at to hinder what they cannot avoyd. I say these are my conjectures at this distance. You may know better, being nearer and more in the Arcana. Let these affairs be as divine providence shall dispose them. My wishes attend you for all happiness, and I remaine,

"Yr humble Servant,

"STREIJNSHAM MASTER."[2]

The recovery of debts which had been running on for twenty years at the other side of the world, must have been rather hopeless, but Master writes again to the Governor ("LONDON, RED LYON SQUARE, Feb. 4th, 170⅔").[3]

"Sr: Yours of the 29th October 1701: I received by the *Dutches* the 15th May 1702: wherein you seem to deprive me of all the hopes you gave me in former letters of Recovering the mony due to me from severall Persons, the Particulars of which I enumerated to you in my Letter last year by the *Colchester* dated the

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[1] Viz., Sir William Norris.

[2] The y in Streynsham is always written by him in the Dutch fashion as "ij". I see this is not uncommon in the original records of that time; though I do not remember to have noticed any instance of its occurrence in print.

In a letter to his daughter, Lady Coventry, dated January 21st, 1719-20, he says:

"I remember my Father said that my great grandfather STREYNSHAM did write his name with a *y*, therefore I doe soe likewise."

And in P.S. to the letter:

"My Mother (who was ever a good antiquary) said the Family of the STREYNSHAMS came from STREYNSHAM in WORCESTERSHIRE, which was an inducement to me to purchase it, and I was about it more than once."

[3] Add. MSS. 22,852, f. 30.

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16th February 1701-2 and SURAPA in his Letter by the *Dutches* gives me hopes of Recovering Some of them.

"You say my Papers are at last found in Mr. WRIGHT'S hands, and that before departure of the January Ships you would peruse them and take out what you found Serviceable in recovering my Debts, and give me a full account thereof. But I received noe Letter from you by these Ships, only a Duplicate of the same by Capt. HARRISON without one word more.

"SURAPA wrott me that in regard of your multiplicity of busynes it would be convenient for me to Imploy one that had more leasure. I wrott therefore the last year to Mr. JOHN NICKS to assist therein, who I hope will favour me in enquiring therein and giving me Acoott: thereof.

"You cannot thinke I believe what you say that the busynes of the 49000 Pagodas lyes as I left it.

"These Ships bring not only the News of the Union of the Two Companys, but the Stock upon them goes upon Acco^t: of the UNITED TRADE, tho' not as you vainly boasted as Ingraftment upon the old Stock, but an admission of the Old into the Fund settled upon the New Company. How the Managers choosen out of both Courts, that of the Directors of the New and the Committee of the Old order Persons abroad, I know not, being not amongst them; I wish you all felicity, and rest

"S^r: your humble Servant

"STREIJNSHAM MASTER."

The correspondence went on at intervals in tolerably good humour, but without apparently any great cordiality, between the Governor and ex-Governor. In a letter of Jan. 19, 1705-6 Pitt writes (not unreasonably):[1] . . . .

"I can call your Service noe better then EGYPTIAN Bondage, for you putt me to recover in Old Debts of upwards of 25 years standing without a paper under their hands, or a Wittness to prove anything, or as much as a man aliue to pay anything, and notwithstanding I have had their assistance, yett the probity of Mr. Wright and the Cunning of Mrs. NICKS cannot afford me any insight in your affairs, and honest SURAPA stands in it Stoutly that you are indebted considerably to him. . . ."

A year later there is another letter from Pitt, which I quote nearly in full (dated FORT ST. GEORGE, Jan. 28, 1706-7):[2]

"S^r:

"I read yours of 16th (19th?) Jany. 170⅚ with SURAPA'S vile and lying letter inclosed in it, who I can't but think the worst of men, and likewise answer yours by Ship *Scipio*, of which you now send a Copy, but the originall never came to hand.

"S^r: I have done my utmost to Serve you, and if you wont beleeve it 'tis my misfortune. Mr. Wright and I overhaul'd your papers, but could not find one to prove the least debt, nor is it probable that we should when they had been soe many years in two such Sharpers hands as FFREEMAN and BROWN, whose interest, as well as obligation to you was to recover what possible. I have often demanded BETT'S debt of Mr. GLOVER, who answers that if I can but pro-

[1] Add. MSS. 22,849, No. 110.

[2] Add. MSS. 22,850, No. 4.

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duce his obligation he will pay it, otherwise he can't but think 'tis already satisfyed.

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"Honest SURAPA now denyes that ever hee told me that hee sent you 600 *pags:* by Mr. HIGGINSON, tho' I noted it downe from his owne mouth when I wrote to you, tho' at the same time I did not believe it, for he is an unparallel'd lyar.

"Companys favours and good opinion are noe inheritance you know, for 'tis too day *Hosanna* and to morrew *crucify him*.[1] I have serv'd 'em faithfully and dilligently, and if they have suffer'd by me for want of Capacity 'tis their fault that sent me hither.

"I can't be soe vain glorious as to put my Services in the Scale with some of my Predecessors, but soe far I'le averr that had the whole councerne been my own, 'twas impossible for me to have done more to provide the honour and intrest of it, and I believe the worst of my enemies cannot but Say the Same. You advise you had received Mr. CHUDSLEYS respondentia bond, and I hope you soon had the money. I demanded the 100 *pags:* as you desir'd me of NARRAN, who show'd me Mr. BROWN's receipt for the 100 *pags:* in full of all accounts between you, but you mentioning another 100 *pags:* lent his father, whose ashes he's unwilling to disturb, I put the decision of the matter upon his oath, who rather then he would Sware paid me the 100 *Pags:* and truly I must say I thinke he has more honesty in him then all the Black fellows besides I know in this Countrey.

"Your acct: currt: comes inclos'd, the balance being (   ) *Pags:* for which I have sent you a bottomeree bill on my attorneys, for the small diamonds are so excessive dear, that there is no probable prospect, of seing the first cost, which is the Reason I remitt it by bill, and as soon as there is anything more of your effects recoverable, I will be sure to Send it you or bring it my Selfe, and I assure you this morning I sent for SURAPA and NARRAN to both whom I read SURAPA's letter you sent me, who fairly said he forgot everything he had wrote you, and knows nothing of it, and that truely is like SURAPA—he never delivered me a token[2] for you, but soe farr I will say for him, he has brought parcells into the Consultation Room to be mark'd, and I have seen him take receipts, and deliver 'em to the Commanders, but to which of 'em I can't charge my memory. . . ."

Sir Streynsham Master died at the age of 85, April 28, 1724, at New Hall in Lancashire, the seat of his eldest son Legh Master, acquired by his marriage with Margaret, one of the co-heirs of Thomas Launder of New Hall. Sir Streynsham was buried at Macclesfield by the side of his second wife, who had died at Bath in 1714. His will was proved in London, July 17, 1724. It directs that his body should be buried at the discretion of his son Streynsham, but not within any church or chapel, and that a tomb should be erected. It *was* buried in a chapel

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[1] The words "already satisfyed"; and then on to "crucify him", are in Governor Pitt's autograph; the rest of the letter being in the handwriting of the usual copyist.

[2] *I.e.*, a present.

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belonging to his wife's brother, Peter Legh, in Macclesfield Church; and there is *no* tomb!

He left three children; (1) Anne (1691-1788), who in 1715 married Gilbert, Earl of Coventry, and in 1752 (aged 61), Edward Pytts of Kyne, co. Worcester; (2) Legh (1694-1750); (3) Streynsham (1697-1759).

I give a specimen of his family correspondence, in two letters to his daughter, Lady Coventry, written in contemplation of her first confinement:

(Dated "LONDON, RED LYON SQUARE, Feby 4th, 1715-16".)

"Dearest NANCY,

'Your last of the 23d last month is all I am indebted for from CROOMBE, which gives me the satisfaction of both your healths, which I pray God to continue.

"Yesterday I delivered to your grandmother LEGH an Eagle Stone in an INDIAN Silke Bag and Paper upon it No 21: and in it a Paper wrott upon

> "'Eagle Stone good to prevent miscarryages of women with child, to be worne about the Neck and left off two or three Weeks before the reckoning be out.'[1]

"I had another of them which was Smooth having been polished which I believe was that which you write to your grandmother was lent to Sr: FRA: LECESTERS Lady, I desire you will, if you can, tell me where 'tis that I may have it againe, and this allsoe I would have returned to me, when you have made use of it for this occasion, which I pray God send you happily over, with my Blessing to you both, I rest

"Your affectionate father,
"STREYNSHAM MASTER."

(Addressed)
"To the Right Honble:
the COUNTES of COVENTRY,
"At Croombe Worcestershire."

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[1] The beliefs regarding the *Lapis Aëtites*, or Eagle-Stone, are very ancient, and it is repeatedly alluded to by Pliny (*Aetitae gravidis adalligati mulieribus*, etc., xxxvi, 39; see also x, 4; xxx, 44, etc.). The stone is, according to Dana (quoted in Webster's *Dictionary*):

"A variety of argillaceous oxide of iron, occurring in rounded or ovoidal masses .... so called by the ancients, who held the opinion that the eagle transported them to her nest, to facilitate the laying of her eggs."

We find, in the *Colloquies of Erasmus*:

"*Livinus.* ... At ego tibi pro isthoc nuntio polliceor evangelium.

"*Georgius.* Quodnam? Secundum Matthaeum?

"*Li.* Non sed secundum Homerum. En, accipe.

"*Geo.* Tibi serva tuum evangelium. Mihi saxorum satis est domi.

"*Li.* Ne sperne munusculum. *Aëtites* est, qui gravidis, admotus in nixu, maturat partus."

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To the same (Feb. 25th, *id.*).

"Yours of the 18th I received the 20th Instant with one inclosed to your Brother STREYNSHAM which I will forward by the first oportunity. I have granted his desire of an allowance noe doubt to his full content, for I have sent him a thousand Pounds by Bills of Exchange, which he may Soe Improve as not only to bear his charges but put mony into his Pockett to increase his Stock.

"I am glad you have received both the Eagle Stones, I am told by Lady DAWES that in the time of labour one should be tyed to the thigh to cause an easy delivery. I have another thing I brought from the INDIES which 'tis said is good for a woman in labour and will send it you if you desire it, or bring it with me when I come in the Sumer.

"With my Blessing to you both and prayer for your safe delivery, I rest" etc.

"Capt. HATTON comeing now in presents her[1] Service.

"S^r: WILL: CAREW and LADY ANNE are very well."

The impression of Master left by the perusal of the records, public and private, apart from the disparagement which the Court seem habitually to have cast on their superseded agents, is that he was a worthy, religious, methodical, kindly, and liberal man, and one of strong family affection. Memoranda in his writing show that he had bestowed upwards of £15,000 upon his brothers and sisters. The comparative accuracy of his style and orthography is in striking contrast with the letters of most of his Indian contemporaries. He always writes like a gentleman: and when we consider that he went to India when only fifteen and a half years of age, his education does credit to his masters and to himself.[2]

There is a portrait of Sir Streynsham Master in the possession of the Rev. G. Streynsham Master, at Flax Bourton, Somerset.[3] His descendants are very numerous, and many of them have been creditably known in the Indian services. The representative of his line is Charles Hoskins Master of Barrow Green, Surrey, eighth in descent from Sir Streynsham.

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[1] (*Sic*) Presumably his wife's service.

[2] Since this biographical sketch has been in type, I have received an original draft letter of Master's describing many particulars at Surat, which will be found below, forming Part IV of these Illustrations.

[3] Among the *Master Papers* is a bill, dated 31st December 1714, from "Charles D'Agar", which includes charges (£12 18*s.* each) for half-length pictures of Sir Streynsham and of "Mrs. Masters" (probably the wife of his eldest son Legh Master). Of this portrait, through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Master, I hope to present an autotype copy.

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MEVERELLY, SAMUEL, came out writer in 1675, and in 1679 was 3rd of Council at Patna. He is mentioned by Hedges at p. 93, as being nominated 3rd of the same place. Died at Patna 21st May 1686. See a reference to him June 9, 1684, under Dodd, p. cxxii.

MOHUN, RICHARD, came out in 1670. engaged as chief of Metchlepatam (Masulipatam) on a salary of £100 a year, sailing along with Sir W. Langhorne, as one of the Commissioners to investigate the extraordinary proceedings of Sir Edmund Winter against Governor Foxcroft (see under Sambrooke below). He was named by the Court in their letter of 18th December 1671, to succeed Sir W. Langhorne as Agent at Fort St. George, in case of Sir William's death, or departure. This, however, never took effect. In 1675, whilst Langhorne was still governing, Mr. Mohun fell into trouble arising out of charges against him as to misuse of the Company's funds in private trading at Masulipatam. There were charges and countercharges bandied between him and Mr. Mainwaring, his successor at Metchlepatam, which are alluded to at p. ccxxxviii *supra* (under Master), and Mohun was dismissed from the Company's service, 7th July 1676, in accordance with the Court's orders of 24th Decr. 1675. He was, however, restored, with certain limitations (January 1678-9), and we find him in 1679 occupying the place of 5th in Council at Fort St. George, and retaining his salary of £100, though the salaries of the 3rd and 4th in Council were only £70 and £50 respectively. He accompanied Agent Master in the same year, on that gentleman's second tour of inspection in the Bay (see p. ccxliii *supra*).

The Court, however, again in a letter dated 3rd December 1679, conditionally ordered his dismissal:

> "If Mr. Mohun be not sattisfied with his station of last of Councill at the Ffort, without hopes of further preferment (except it be by express order from ourselves here), you may dismiss him, for he was soe vastly in debt, and so notoriously and vilely culpable in his former transactions at Metchlepatam, that we will not trust him any further, till wee have more experience of his good behaviour, and did only concede to the earnest importunity of his good friends, that he should be in that place under the eye of the Agent."

This dismissal took effect in July 1680. Under 18th November 1680, the Court wrote to Madras ordering the seizure of Mohun's effects, until he should pay the balance due on his accounts.

He appears to have gone on a trading adventure to Achin. Hedges at p. 117, mentions the arrival of Mr. Mohun, on board the *Recovery*, from Achin and Malacca, with particulars of some intelligence which he communicated. And under date 24th June 1684, Mohun writes from Achin, apparently to some member of the Court at home, pointing out

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facilities for the Company's opening trade with some adjacent states in Sumatra:[1]

"I do, as one well acquainted with these great men, and alike capable of discoursing them in the MALAYAN tongue, tender you my readiest and most select services, tending to its promotion, and these my inclinations taking their rise only from affection and respect to the recited Corporation whome I formerly served, and for whom I still retaine that veneration as not only cordially to wish a lasting felicity to their persons, but also a beneficiall and continued Commerce to their undertaking."

MORE, HENRY. Nominated Factor 7th October 1681. His death is alluded to in Fort St. George letter of 25th May 1691.

NAYLOR, JOHN.[2] A dyer employed at Kásimbázár in the Company's factory. We read in Str. Master's MS. Diary in India Office, under date October 31st 1676:

"JOHN NAYLOR, silk dyer, servant to the Honble: Company in the ffactory, haveing presented his petition to the Councill and therein sett forth that he came out of ENGLAND in December 1670, and contracted to serve the Honble: Company four years at 50*l* per annum, whereof thirty pound to be paid in INDIA and twenty pound upon his desire in ENGLAND, which tearme of years (and) more being expired, and he being since married and hath his family here with him, doth now request that his whole sallary of 50*l* per annum may be paid him in the Countrey for soe long as he hath served more than his Contracted time of 4: years, which the Councill having taken into consideration did think fitt and appoint that the said JOHN NAYLOR, for his future encouragement in the Honble: Company's service be paid 50*l* per annum in this ffactory beginning from Michelmas last past, and to continue soe long as he shall behave himselfe well in his imployment, or untill the Honble: Company's further pleasure."

Hedges and the Council dismissed Naylor for trading with the Interlopers; after which he became the factor of the latter at Kásímbázár (*Diary*, pp. 80, 138, etc.)

NEEDHAM, or NEDHAM, FYTCHE.

The Court, in letter to Bantam of 21st Sept. 1671, advise the Council there of the appointment as factor of

"Mr. FITZ NEEDHAM at 20*l*, whoe though he hath not readiness of speech, yet will be very serviceable in writing in the accompting house, And hath some skill in limbning and Clock worke, therefore we designe him for JAPAN, to take care of our clocks and works." . . .

He must have been transferred to Bengal, for in 1676, we find[3] him writing from Dacca to Mr Streynsham Master (30th Novr.):

"Yesterday I wrote you of the late orders from the King for our paying cus-

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[1] O.C. 5162.

[2] Entered as *James* by some mistake of mine, in Index to vol. i.

[3] In MS. Diary of Master, under 15th December, at Balasore.

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tome, this is only to inclose the Coppy of two *Pherwannahs* to that purpose I have just now got, one for Hugly, and the other for BALLASORE. JAMES PRICE hath desired the RAY[1] that said *Perwanaes* might be stopped till our Chiefe with our present shall come, and has told him that they are in the way hither, but he would not heare, saying he had heard to much of our Storyes already, and 'tis feared he will likewise demande custome for all the time of the Reigne of this King, if his mouth be not some way or other presently stoped."

Needham was ordered by the Court's letter of 18th Novr. 1681, to be dismissed, along with Byam and Harvey, and though they revoked this order in the case of the two last, it was apparently carried out in the dismissal of Needham, for flagrant encouragement of the Interlopers along with EDWARD LITTLETON, ROBERT DOUGLAS, and MATTHIAS VINCENT, at the time of Hedges' arrival in India (see *Diary*, pp. 90-91).

NEEDHAM, LITTLETON, who came out in 1699 with Sir E. LITTLETON, as a servant of the English Company, and died on first arrival (*supra*, p. ccvi), was doubtless a son of FYTCHE NEEDHAM.

NICKS, JOHN. Came out to Fort St. George as apprentice at £5 a year, in 1668. In 1676 made Factor at £20 ; appointed Secretary at Fort St. George in or about 1674, and so continued many years. In his capacity of Secretary he accompanied Streynsham Master on his second tour of inspection to Bengal in 1679 (*supra*, p. ccxliii.)

In 1688 he was appointed by the Council at Fort St. George to be Chief of CONIMEER (*Kanyimeḍu*), a new factory established on the Coromandel coast, between Madras and Pondicherry, about thirteen miles north of the latter. On this the Court write characteristically (11th Sept. 1689) :

"We approve of the fortifying of CONIMEER, since it is done, but such a fortification would have been a hundred times better for the Company if it had been a hundred Leagues further to the Southwards, CONIMEAR being so near the Court (? FORT) that we have reason to suspect confederacies between your black merchants and those at CONIMEER, if you do not honestly and carefully prevent it. Mr. NICKS's Chiefship at CONIMEER we do likewise confirm, on condition that you and he do carefully prevent the Companys prejudice by his Wife's crafty trading, which we understand the method of, and cannot bear if we find. She makes her gains of our loss, tho' otherwise we are allwaies glad to hear that our Servants get money honestly without prejudice to the Company. And since we have now been at the charge to fortify CONIMEER we expect the same Duties to be paid us there, proportionately as at MADRASS, which you and Mr. NICKS are to take care we be not defrauded of."

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[1] James Price, the *Vakīl* of the English at Dacca; "the Ray," Rái Nandilál, the Nabob's Dewan (see vol. i, Index).

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On a matter of wrong sorting of Caliçoes that seems grievously to have irritated the Court, they write (18th Feb. 1690-91) :

"We do . . . . hereby expell from our service that expensive and unjust person Mr. NICKS, and all those that assisted him in that wicked Sortment."

At a later date we find him in actual durance:

"Mr. NICKS having both by the comon report and opinion of the Chirgions order'd to visitt him contracted a dangerous indisposition by close confinement; we have agreed with the advice of the Judge, that the Marshall have leave to keep him prisoner in his owne house, taking good Security to himselfe that he shall not endeavour to escape, and that the money due to the R: H: Company by judgment shall be paid in case he does escape." (*Letter from Madras Council to* Sir John Goldsborough, 21*st August* 1693.)

We have not ascertained the date of Mr. Nicks's death. A reference to the Master correspondence on p. ccli will show that in 1701 Sir Streynsham had written to Mr. Nicks to bespeak his help in the recovery of old debts due to him at Madras; whilst Governor Pitt, in a letter dated Jan. 1705-6, refers to his having sought aid in the "cunning of *Mrs.* Nicks." This suggests that Mr. Nicks had died in the interval.

I am sorry to say that Mrs. Nicks was the subject of much scandal, both on account of her reported too great intimacy with Mr. Elihu Yale, and for alleged frauds committed by her in Conimeer when her husband was Chief there. One accusation was that (in 1692),

"She caused the Right Honble. Company's godowns to be broke open and forcibly took from thence great quantities of cloth of the first sort, which she applied to Mr. Elihu Yale's private use . . . Upon this he (Mr. Dolben, the Judge Advocate) wrote her a letter requiring her, *being a woman notoriously known to be a separate merchant from her husband*, to put in bail . . . which she, not complying with, he issued out a warrant to arrest her."[1] . . .

This statement, and the two letters of hers which we transcribe, illustrate the pungent remarks of the Court on her trading propensities.

From CATHERINE NICKS *to President* JOHN PITT at MASULIPATAM (dated at foot "Feb: 19, 99" (1700) :[2]

"Honble. Sr:

"Yours of the 10th January and the 16 I receiv'd and the parsell of Lace, after a great deal of Trouble came safe and private. But am sorry the marketts are soe low I doubt you will never see its cost. For these two or three years so much has come that you may buy such things for half they cost in ENGLAND.

"The last week Mr. PROBY made a outcry of Lace, 2 or 3 hundred pounds worth, but they did not sell for half they cost. Send me your orders what I shall do with it; to sell it all togeather I never can for nobody will buy it. If you like my selling it as I can I will use my utmost Indeavours to dispose of it if

[1] *Talboys Wheeler*, i, 260-1.
[2] O.C. 6921.

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possible, or deliver it to your Lady when she comes. According to your direction have sent the other Pallakeen which you have as cost me which was Eighty Pagodas, only the bare Pallakeen neither Bed nor Tassells, only an old *Pingarey* (?) not worth sending I was design'd to have made new but believeing Velvet and Scarlet to be more chiep with you makes me send it without. The Silver and Tossells I have made new and a great deal of Silver I have added to 't as you will See by the Inclos'd accompt which I now send and I think the Pallakeen is good and cheap.

"You complain of that I sent you before was very Dear. I assure you Sr: I get but very little by 't and I cannot bate anything of the price. You write of Silver at the ends of the Bamboos. I never had any with it nor saw any. VENCATADREE knows that there was none when I had it. I have Sent the branch candlesticks you desir'd. My orders are not to sell them under two hundred and twenty Pagodas. But I will venture to bate you Ten Pagodos, and I have sent a Small Sandall Screwtore for a Pallakeen, their is noe manheld (qu. enamel'd ?) Silver work to be got. I can Supply you with some Japan Boxes and a noble pair of Skreens the price is 200 Pagodas. I have a couple of fine Guzarat oxen of Governour YALES which cost him 900 Pagodas. If you have any Occasion for them you Shall have um for 200 Pagodas. There is a Coach that is a 100 Pagodas. The Damask is (to) be got when the CHINA Ships arrive if any come Shall send you what you desire.

"I give you many Thanks for your kind present of Chint and for my receiving my Mony of VINCATADREE and was in hopes of having it by the *Benjamen* if I desir'd or by any good Safe conveyance for the Roads being not Safe. So now intreat you if you can to remitt it me by Bill of Exchange.

"I have demanded VINCATADREES Bond of Mr. MEAD but he will not deliver it without he sends a receipt, the Fellow is let out of prison or else must have Starv'd, they tell me.

"By PEDOA I have presumed to send you a Pot of Green Tae beleiving it to be a rarity with you as well as us, for wee have had none good this Two Years. In the Same basket is a little Sagoo and Two baskets of Birds nests and 8 bottles of Soye which I begg you to accept from

"Sr: Your most humble Service

"CATH: NICKS."

The preceding letter, however faulty in grammar, is not only direct and business-like, but written in a clear, bold hand. But I cannot give Mrs. Nicks credit for it. The second is evidently in her own writing, and that is very bad in penmanship and spelling. The first may have been her husband's. The "NICKS" is like his autograph.

The second letter shows that her husband was at its date in England, whither he had gone with ex-President Yale in 1699; it also shows Mrs. Nicks, crafty and ill-conducted as she may have been, as a warm-hearted woman.

The Mr. Dolben mentioned in it is apparently the very man who, as Judge Advocate, had ordered her arrest eight years earlier. It looks as if the Court had intercepted her poor letter.

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The second letter from Mrs. Nicks:

"*For Mrs.* DIONESIA TOMBS *at her house in* LEADENHALL STREET pr. Shipp *King Wm*:

"FORT ST. GEORGE Febry. 24th 1700" (1701).

"Dear Sistter,

"I was not so hapey to have any lettr from you thees last Ships wich would bin very wellcome to have known whether my poor Garlls ware wellcome to you: and did desiour your Care and kindness to them: I have not write Mr. NICKS: belieuing he is come out long before this reaches you: and hope he has Cleared and Settelld all accounts with you befor he left ENGLAND: I sent 10 ps. of chints to you by Mr. ANDREW TOPE puser of the *bengmen*: wich i hop you have sold for me befor this: I did desiour you to deliuer the produce of them to Mr. YALE: and have desioured him to pay you what you shall disbust for my Children: by Mr. BRADDILL i sent a JAPAN dresing box to the children: in it is a goun and lining for my dear BETTY: and 12 aprons and 2 ps. of chints and 6 fans, and 6 par of Gloues: and 40 CHINA pectars: for them both: i sent a dresing box befor by Mr. DOLBEN let Ursa have won of them and the other things equally parted betwen them: I have write my brother TED, home i Should be extrem glad to See in INDEA; doubt i neuer Shall in ENGLAND Loses has bin so great that i now all most dispar of euer Seeing you: I shall be glad to see brother TOMBS i hear he thinks of Coming: i hope he will not alltter his mind: give my sarvice to him: so wishing you and the little wons health and hapeynes i remaine Your

"Loving Sistter

"CAT: NICKS."

"My blesing to my dear garlls BETTY and URSA the dresing box comes by Mr. Braddill derected to my BETY but for URSA."

PEACHEY or PEACHIE, JEREMIAH. Arrived in India as Writer in 1673; Factor, 1678; 2nd of Council at Kásimbázár, June 1683; 2nd of "ENGLESAVAD" (*Angrezábád*, i.e. Malda), 27th Aug. 1683, and afterwards chief there. He was with the Chittagong expedition in Jany. 1688-9 (*supra*, pp. lxxxiii-v), and resumed his position at Malda Factory on the renewal of trade, after peace was made with the Mahomedan Government.

The following are two specimens of his correspondence:

"HUGLY ye 31st: Jany: 1667-8.[1]

"Mr. RICHARD EDWARDS,

"Sr: I heartily desier these may finde you in good health, as wee all Arrived here on the 27th: Current, by which you may understand our voyadge were longer then ordinary.

"Sr: I hope you have not forgot my Loss of Coate, Nemer (?), and Buttons, which Cost mee upwards of 25 *Rups*: I am in great want of them and cannot forbeare (if they are not returnèd by these Hellhounds that stole them) making new ones.

"Its agreed here not to send Mr. BYAM downe till further order from the FORT, your Saddle will follow in few daies eaither on the *Mary* or the *Ganges*.

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[1] O.C. 4338.

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"I have put the Case, Brandy, and my Provision money to your account. Pray pardon this trouble, and lett me know in a line or two: wherein I may actually bee what in hast I subscribe

"Yr affectionat ffriend
and humble servant,
"JERE: PEACHIE.

"Pray if can procuer a good Pallenkeen bambo and 2 patch[1] of ye finest with what colours you thinke hansome for my owne ware Chockoloes and Susaes:[2] Send pr. the next Sloopes for the Hot weather is comeing on.

"I Rem. J. PEACHIE.

"Pray present my Service to Mr. SMITH, etca: friends, and excuse me to Mr. PERIN, not haveing time at present to write, and desier him not to forget the Beare: he promised mee."

To the same.[3]

"HUGLY, ffeby: 19th, 167⅞.
"(in ye: morning).

"Sr: yours of the 9th Current received last night, and I hope by this time mine per CHARLES BRIGGS, master of the *Mary*, hath attained your receipt with the Saddle and 3 large bales, one small one, and 1 chest in gunne, all markt I: H: as then advised more at Large, Sent by Mr. KNIPE, for Mr. HYNMERSE at the FORT, whither I hope you have forwarded them, with a line or two of advise therewith:

"I am sorry after the trouble given you about my Buttons: those Ripe Nugate Birds would not Confess them: I will at the Peones arrivall here use all the Interest I can to git them or their worth.

"I acknowledge the kindness, you was pleased to Remember me for a Bamboe, and not only that but the Care therein, Pray if in my power here let me know where in I may retalliate these many favours Confer'd on

"Sr: your Reall friend and Servant,
"JERE: PEACHIE."

Mr. Peachey had obtained the commendation of the Court during the earlier days of his chiefship at Malda, as in the following extracts:

"Mr. PEACHIE served us well at Maulda from whence all the Goods laden by him came out well, and therefore we think his performance deserves this note and we approve of our Agents choice of him into our Council." (*To the* BAY, 28*th Sept.* 1687.)

"Where you find persons just and faithfull as Mr. PEACHIE was at MAULDA cherish and encourage them, and those you find have cheated or abused the Company, as POUNSETT and HARVEY did at DACCA, secure their Estates" . . . (*As above* 27*th August* 1688).

"We would trust none sooner than Mr. PEACHIE there by the goods we have seen from him, tho' we know him not otherwise" . . . (*Ibid.*)

[1] *Patch,* in use then for a piece of a cotton stuff of double the usual length. It is the contraction of a Telugu word *pachchaḍamu* (*Wilson*).

[2] *Chaklás* and *Súsís;* certain piece-goods of mixed silk and cotton.

[3] O.C. 4358.

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But, at a later date, Peachey had long been the subject of complaints. The Court write, 22nd Jany. 1691:

"We are sorry Mr. PEACHIE complyed so ill with you. We hoped better things from him, but we have put the remedy not only in this case, but in the cases of all others that shall delay or neglect their Duty or falsifie the trust reposed in them intirely into our Agents hands, with authority to turn out or advance whomsoever of our Servants he thinks fit, which wee now confirme. Mr. PEACHIE has sent us a long letter of the 31st January last 1690-1, which looks too like a commencement of the old querulous humour which hath reigned too long in BENGALL, but shall never stir again to do any more mischief; his said letter and accompts therein mentioned we have sent you, leaveing it to our Agent to do therein what he finds just."

And again, 10th April 1693:

"We are at too great distance to understand rightly or correctly Mr. PEACHIE's miscarriages or neglects. But we have given and doe give such an absolute authority to Mr. JOB CHARNOCK during his life or untill our further order, that he may right us and himselfe upon any negligent or unfaithfull Servants in a Summary way."

On the arrival in Bengal of Sir John Goldsborough as Commissary-General in 1693, it proved that Mr. Peachey had for three years rendered no accounts, and (22nd August) a sergeant and four soldiers were dispatched to Malda to bring him down, which they did accordingly, with his three years' books.[1]

The following letter was written by Peachey to Sir John Goldsborough on receiving the summons:[2]

"Honour'd "MAULDA, August 28th 1693.

"Sr:

"I herewith Congratulate your Excellencys Safe arrivall in BENGALL, and humbly crave excuse for my omission of the same at first arrivall Safe from ENGLAND, which the news of your Excellency Sudden departure was the Cheife obstacle, together with the hurry of business at that juncture of time (which are particularly my misfortune) and not want of obedience to show the due respect I ever bore to your Honour, wherefore rest in hopes it will meet with noe other construction.

"Its probable some Persons ill affected to your Servant may (as they have all along with Agent CHARNOCK when living) Endeavour to incence your Honour under pretences, which envy and mallice never wants matter to compleat, but your Honours Juditious wisdom will distinguish and I hope prevent their malicious desire of bringing your Servant under an Odieum and disgrace, Sending Soldiers forceably to carry me downe to HUGLY, whether none more ready and willing to go.

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[1] Sir John Goldsborough's official MS. Journal, etc., in O.C. 5885.

[2] O.C. 5881, No. 21.

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"I stay onely to make up accounts with one SINBONAUT a Merchant, to whom last year I gave impress 40 000*rs*. on Permissive and the Rt. Honble. Company's account to secure all goods possible according to a many pressive orders from the Agent and Councill, which to effect to my utmost I did, notwithstanding it was the latter end of December before had any money of the Rt. Honble Company to invest, send hence vpwards of 200 bales. Now the Agent Sending Mr. BRADDYLL vp and ordering your Servant downe imediately after my giving out the money caused those I had given out to, to Slight all their agreements, refusing to prize those goods they had brought in, and Stop their hands from bringing in their remains, but vnder hand disposed of them for ready money in our own house which hath caus'd remains[1] and brought me in a many inconveniences and troubles, all which I fully advised the Agent of before hand.

"However now in a Generall dated 22 June last, is ordered that noe remains be made of what I gave out, wherefore I presum'd to stay and vse endeavour about SIMBONAUTS business (having ended with all others) as fully advis'd in a generall dated the 3d inst. Since which the ffowsdar at ROJAMALL (having received a bribe from SIMBONAUT) refusing to act in this Government (being not under him) without a *Perwanna* in his name I have since sent a Vackeel to Mr. EYRE att DACCA with the man that is SIMBANAUTS security to complaine and produce the NABOB and DUANS *Pherwanna*, which if your Honour will be pleas'd to accelerate in a line or two, it will be of great use towards the effecting Said; otherwise if your Honour is pleas'd to order I shall leave the remains in Mr. BRADDYLLS hands and come away Imediately, none is more ready to Obey your Honour Commands than

"Honour'd
"Sr:
"Your most humble
"and obedient servant
"JEREMIAH PEACHIE."

"To His Excy: Sr: JNO: GOLDSBOROUGH Supravisor Comry: Genll: and Chiefe Govr. for the Rt: Honble: Companys affairs all over India."

The result was fatal to Mr. Peachey's employment.

We transcribe a few particulars from the examination of his books by Sir John and Mr. Ellis:

"Mr. Jeremiah Peachie's account for the month of May and June 1688 being examined by us, wee find besides the *Rups*. 5143 ,, 4 ,, 3 which he stands charged with, he is further to be Charged with Rs. 956 ,, 7 ,, 3, the Ballance of the account next above written, which being allowed, we pass the said 2 months accounts.

"CHUTTANUTTEE October the 23d. 1693.

The larger sum, Rs. 5143 ,, 4 ,, 3, is formed of more serious charges, in fact of payments charged twice over; the Rs. 956 ,, 7 ,, 3 is made up of minor charges not passed, and one mistake of Rs. 500. Some of the minor disputed charges are worth transcribing :[2]

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[1] "Remains" appears to be used for outstanding accounts and orders.

[2] O.C. 5896.

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		Rups.	ans.		
1688, May 2d.	2 chicks	3	:		
„ 15	2 flowered Quilts	5	:		
„ 22	3 chatters, making	2	8		
„ 24	2 Citterengees, charged before[1]				
„ 30	A woman, for Leaches	1	:		
„	Wages to a Tandall and 11 Lascars, twice charged to Ketch *Samuell* in May 1688	62	:		
				73	8
June 2	4 chicks	4	8		
„ 6	3 Ditto	5	2		
„ 16	2 Ditto	1	12		
„	15 pces. Gurras[2]	7	:		
„	silk twine	8	:		
„	A boat to Hateagur with him	13	4		
„	Mangoes from Maulda[3] (one half allowed)	88	13		
				128	15

On these proceedings the Court wrote (to Bengal, 6th March 1694-5):

"You did well to send for Mr. PEACHY, and we shall expect by the next, how you have ended all Accounts with him, And if you have not been so frugall, or so just to us in pursueing our Orders, to discharge him out of our Service, as soon as you found him unfaithfull, You are very much to blame, And to supply that defect, We do hereby dismiss him totally. This soft loose way of doing busyness in BENGALL put us again upon the necessity of continuing our Agency in BENGALL, and all our ffactoryes there Subject to the Jurisdiction of the FFORT, as they were fformerly before Mr. CHARNOCK'S Agency" . . . .

And, in the Court Book of the same date, we find:

"It appearing likewise that Mr. JEREMY PEACHIE, Chief of Maulda, and Mr. CHARLES FLEETWOOD, late Chief at Bencoolen, had misbehaved themselves, acting contrary to the trust in them reposed, the question being put by the Ballot whether they should be dismissed from the Companys service, it passed in the affirmative."

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[1] *Chicks* are blinds of finely split bamboo. The word is Mongol (see *Anglo-India Glossary*, s.v. *chick*, a).

Chatter=chatta (Hind., *chhátá* and *chatr*), an umbrella.

Citterengee, more commonly *sittringy*, for *shitranji*, a cotton carpet usually in coloured stripes, no doubt originally in checquers (Pers., *shatrang*, chess).

[2] Probably *gāṛhā*, a kind of cheap cotton cloth; *gurrahs* often occurs on the Co.'s old Books, but I am not sure if these are the same.

[3] The Malda mangoes have still great repute in Bengal. We see that the controllers allowed a *certain* quantity as a lawful charge, only they regarded Mr. Peachey as unconscionable.

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We find also the following in Court's Letter to Bengal of 29th Nov. 1700:

"If Mr. PEACHY continue so obstinate as neither to order the Sale or Removall of his Lumber out of your Godownes, rather than you should want that roome, put them into a warehouse a part, and before he take them thence lett the goods pay for their lying, you need no more than we fear his threatening language."

Peachey, like most of the dismissed factors seems to have taken up his abode at Madras, and after the establishment of the New Company, Mr. John Pitt, the Consul and President for that Company at Masulipatam, entered on a correspondence with him. John Pitt himself, we gather from his letters and conduct (so far as we know it), to have been a bumptious, fussy, self-important and injudicious person; whilst Peachey, from the like data, shows as a very poor creature.

From Consul JOHN PITT *to* Mr. PEACHEY.

Dated, "METCHLEPATAM, Novr. 9th, 99.[1]

"Sr

"I did by the last Peons sent to Madrass inclose a paquet to you from ENGLAND, which was found in a chest belonging to one lately deseas't. I think it went directed to you under our friend Mr. TRENCHFIELDS covert,[2] but will not be certain if it did and you have not received it. I believe it must be in the hands of the revrend Padre LEWIS or TOM: WIGGMORE. I am sorry for all your misfortunes. Your case was presented at home; and a course would have bin taken there to relieve you, had it not bin thought more advisable to refer it to his Excellency My Lord Embassador, who you may be assur'd will order and see that Justice be done you upon due application's made to him. I have a secret to impart and a motion to make to you. I suppose you are well vers'd in the MOORS Language and customs, will you undertake a journey and attend my Lord to the MOGULLS Court. If it stands with your Inclinations, and Suits your circumstances you need not dispute the terms for they'l be such as Shall please you if you are Satisfied with the proposalls, you must not Stay for an answer but come away Imediately and if any Stop shou'd be put upon you from the Government were you now are, advise his Excellency imediatly, that you have accepted of the Service but have mett with an obstruction from the President &ca: of MADRAS, which was the reason of your not comeing, and then due measures will be taken to remove any impeddiment that may be laid in the way. Sr you may rely upon what I now write, and expect from me all the kindnesses and civilitys you can desire from one who wou'd be esteem'd,

"Sr.

"Your Affec: Friend ready to serve you."

From JEREMIAH PEACHEY "*To the Worshipfull* JOHN PITT, Esqre. *Prest.*, *&ca.*, *In* METCHLEPATAM."[3]

"FORT ST. GEORGE, Xber 13th: 1699.

"I received advices by our present Governour from relations in ENGLAND that they was bringing my business before the King and Parliament, but was

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[1] O.C. 6781.

[2] Richard Trenchfeild died some five weeks before the date of this letter.

[3] O.C. 6797.

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persuaded by one Sq^r NAVELL and other Parliament men who spoke to our Governour on my behalf, and great promises made of doeing me Justice here but hitherto have found none. He is too much carryed away here by my adversaries, 2 BENGALLES[1] here of Councill. Those letters Mr. GRAYHAM brought my friends wrote to the same purpose as your advice. That they ware assured that if Governor PITT had not already done me justice that his Excellency the Lord Ambassador would, and that I might depend upon it, which I doe fully and wholly and have advised my friends the same . . . and that they might in ENGLAND desist from moveing farther in my business.

"As to my accompanying his Excellency none can be more willing and ready did not the present circumstances of my affairs prevent me, occasion'd by their keeping all I have in their hands and me in Suspense and prisoner at Large now neer 8 years under Security and confinement which have run soe farr in debt what with Law Charges &ca, with Severall Sums unjustly forced to pay and where due to me can recover nothing they being prejudist and partiall and arbitrary in all their proceedings with me. . . .

"I have since received yours bin full of thoughts and contrivances how to serve your present occasions in the Embassy and finding it impossible at present to get away myself have resolv'd to get one Mr. RAVENHILL who lives alonge with me to come away to rights but hitherto could not effect it. I ventur'd to Accquaint Mr. AFFLACK (being your correspondent) of the matter and desir'd he wou'd privately let him goe either in a Pallakeen or on horse to you, but instead of assisting he told me he desir'd not to hear more of it . . . he is expert in the HINDORSTAND or MOORES Language and well verst in their Laws, rules and customs of which had the first rudiments in PATTANA under me when Cheif there 17 years agoe and is well improv'd since may be very usefull to his Excellency.

"As to my owne present circumstances the Agent &ca in BENGALL have in a generall hither (of which I have a copy) declared that the Company is fully Satisfied and have noe further demand on J. P., and have an overpluss of mine in the Company's Cash and all my goods and estate as seased on when forced me away with nothing but my clothes on my back which they order to be deliver'd.

"The Governour and Councill here have declared the same and ordered Mr. BRADDYLL to deliver my goods here in this Warehouse, neer 700 pagodas of BENGALL Trade, which I am about receiving. Alsoe I have neer 300 Pagodas in Merchantable goods and Moveables and 500 Pags. in the house I now live in, which is the house Mr. HYNMOSE[2] formerly dwelt in, which I paid with a design to have bout it, but find by advises from Vatherland its not to be sold, soe that my mony will be made good the next Shipping Besides Debts from perticular people here upwards of 5000 Pags. in which the Governour hath promised a rehearing and to doe me justice but not till after Christmas, which with my Debts here are the present occasions of my Staying. But if his Excellency and you think it absolutely necessary for my comeing Imediately to Accompany his Excellency in his affairs be pleased to remit by Bill or give me a letter of Credit for 500 Pags. to clear my debts, I will follow your orders and leave my concerns with a letter of Attorney here."

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[1] It is pleasant to find Anglo-Indians from the Bengal factories called "Bengalles" in 1699, just as we call those of that Presidency *Bengallees* now. The two in question were, I suppose, FRANCIS ELLIS and ROGER BRADDYLL.

[2] HYNMERS, JOSEPH, a former member of Council at the Fort; came out 1670.

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From Consul JOHN PITT *to* Mr. PEACHEY.

Dated, "METCHLEPATAM, Feby. the 8th, 99" (*i.e.* 1700).[1]

"Sr:

"Your letter of the 13th Xber: I have received. I am sensible that you have mett with a great deal of hardship from the MADRAS Government and that you are soe much inrowld with them and intangled with your own affares that am afraid you'l not be able to clear yourself of either or both, time enough to serve my Lord in the Embassy for his Excellency's Equipage is almost ready, and 'twill not be long before he sets out, therefore I desire you'l be plain with me whither you can get off, and if you can upon what termes doo you propose to engage or really what you expect for your trouble and Service, and what is the proper Language you are Master off; whither PERSIAN or not, and if you can't come yourself whither Mr. RAVENHILL can, and what is your reall opinion of him whither a proper person to undertake such a business both as to parts, Language, Judgment, Experience and fidility, for I must tell you much depends upon all these. Can he keep a Secret if he Shall be intrusted with it, if he has not all these Quallifications 'twould be much better not to propose it to him, or he to offer him selfe. Therefore let him examine himself well, for you can't but be Sensible 'tis a business of great import. The Kings Nation's and My Lord's Honour in a great measure depends upon't. As soon as I have your answer Shall Imediately dispatch to you necessary orders. Therefore be quick. I am,

"Sr Your ready humble Servant,

"J. P."

From JEREMIAH PEACHEY *to* President JOHN PITT.[2]

Dated, "FORT ST. GEORGE, Feby. 19, 99" (*i.e.* 1700).

"Sr:

"I wrote you last Xber. 13. past Copy of which goes inclos'd fearing my former mis carry'd not havg: received any answer, tho' others here have that Sent per the same person.

"I have hitherto bin unsuccessful in my own business in which I find nothing but delays and disappointments now these 6 months can neither get my Cloth out of their hands nor any thing determin'd neither in Court nor consultation. I fear either your's or my Letter or both are fallen into their hands which makes them both Jealous and Prejudiced as plainely of late appears.

"Since my last in answer to yours dated 9br. 9th past I have Xbr: 21st received a copy of your former which (would) have answered too before, have remained Silent in daily expectation of your Reply neither have I been able to get Mr. RAVENHILL clear of this place and forwarded to you as intended and advised in my Last, but find his circumstances Such that he is not able to get clear and that by his Stay Longer here it will be the worse and more difficult.

"Senr. MONNOOCK[3] my old acquaintance and intimate friend came to me with a

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[1] O.C. 6897.

[2] O.C. 6919.

[3] Signor NICOLAS MANUCH or MANUCHI was a Venetian physician, who had come to India in the time of Shah Jehan. He was originally attached to the person and fortunes of the unhappy Prince Dara, that king's eldest son; and afterwards lived long at the Court of Aurangzeb. We know of him chiefly through the publications of Père Catrou, a French Jesuit, who states them

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letter he then received from you which I read and inform'd him the contents of, at which seem'd pleased, but on farther discourse about the matter he told me that if you wou'd send him 4000 *Pagas.* down before proceeded hence and get Govr. PITT's leave, for his goeing to Serve you, that then he would come and leave it to you what more he may deserve to be paid, or return after the Business is Effected.[1]

"My former letters was delivered to PURMULL, one that formerly served you and pretended to goe that time with the horses but did not; now upon inquiry he tells me he deliver'd it to your Peons but can give noe account what Peon nor

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to have been mainly based upon MSS. of MANOUCHI (as he writes the name), derived by the latter from what Catrou calls the Chronicles of the Empire, at the Imperial Court, and which had been communicated to Catrou by M. Des Landes, who had held a high official position in the French Indian settlements. There are in the I. O. Records a letter, in both Italian and English, from JOHN PITT, the New Company's President at Masulipatam, to MANUCHI (O.C. 6685, of July 28, 1699), and a translation of a letter from MANUCHI to Pitt (O.C. 6790, of 1st December, *id.*).

Govr. Pitt writes to Mr. Wooley, Secy. at the India House, under date Oct. 19, 1701:

"To yours of the 4th of July concerning Senr. MANUCHIS history, 'tis true he liv'd many years with SHALLUM, the MOGULLS eldest Son, in which time without Doubt was capable of making many Observations, but I believe it is soe ordinarily connected that 'tis hardly worth reading, when I came here first he was in disgrace with our Government, and withdrawne himself from it, his Book he had some time agoe dedicated it to the FFRENCH King, the Copy of it in PORTUGUEZ I will endeavour to get and send you, but when all is Done I beleive 'tis no better than TOM THUM."

Catrou's books founded on Manuchi are as follows: *Hist. Gén. de l'Empire du Mogol*, 4to., Paris, 1705 and 1715; also at La Haye, 1708, in 12°; English edns., 8°, London, 1709 and 1826. *H. d'Orangzeb*, bound up with Paris edn. of 1715. C. Lockyer (*Acct. of Trade in India*, 1711) speaks of "MANOOCH's Stones at FORT ST. GEORGE" as rivals of the famous medicinal GOA Stones (p. 268).

The Italian is also mentioned as a resident of Madras, in Mr. T. Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (vol. i, pp. 361, *seqq.*), as being employed under Governor Pitt on a mission to Dáúd Khán, Nawáb of the Carnatic, in 1701. (See also Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. i, Pt. I, Preface, etc.)

[1] Sir William Norris, the Ambassador to the Mogul, sent out by the New Company, writes from "Metchlepatam, Jany. 19th 1699(1700):

"Mr. TRENCHFEILD who was recommended by the Company for an Interpreter is dead, NICHOLAS MANUCHI recommended on the same account has excused him Selfe by reason of his age, Blindness, and other infirmityes, Soe that here is no Prospect of getting either an Interpreter or any ENGLISH Man that understands the Languages and Customs in this place, both which are absolutely Necessary, but neither to be procured here." (*Letter to* Sir NICHOLAS WAITE; O.C. 6836.)

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his name. I fear there is Rogoury which shall find out after have your answer.

"This goes by VINCATTA PUTTA your own Peon who goes by Boat and I hope in 3 or 4 days will reach your hands which question not your Speedy answer. In the Interim Period with my most humble service to his Excellency and Mr. GRAHAM who I heard was dead but now by Mr. LOVELL am better Satisfied with his health and property (*sic*) which God continue. Pray acquaint him that brother SAMUELL PEACHEY writes that he is related to one that marry'd my Cozn. Jno. EVRELLS Widdow at SHILTON. I should be glad to hear from him and tho' related at a great distance Yet since it is our fate to be soe neer in these remote parts it may be Suficient to creat a correspondency and Friendship betwixt us.

"I cannot inlarge Save only to crave your Pardon for this trouble and freedom and to subscribe what if opportunity Serve will actually appear," etc. etc. "JEREMIAH PEACHEY."

After this I have found no further trace of Mr. Peachey, except the Court's notice at p. cclxvi.

PITT, THOMAS. See Part V.

POUNSETT, JOHN. Came out to Surat as a Writer in 1673, but was subsequently transferred to FORT ST. GEORGE.[1] He became Factor in 1678; in 1679 was 2nd of Council at Dacca, and was appointed by the Court to be Chief there 18th Jany. 1681-2. He did not, however, apparently succeed till Mr. Harvey's removal to Malda in 1683. His misconduct in that capacity is often complained of in strong terms by Hedges (*e.g.*, p. 152), and eventually recognised by the Court, as is indicated in a passage quoted under HARVEY, as well as in the following:

"Those you find have cheated or abused the Company, as POWNSETT and HARVEY did at DACCA, secure their Estates to make the Company satisfaction in India." (*Court to* BENGAL, 27 August 1688.)

I have not come on the record of his death or dismissal.

RAVENHILL, JAMES. Nominated as Factor October 1681. He is only once and incidentally mentioned by Hedges (p. 32). He was on the futile expedition to Chittagong and Arakan in January 1689 (*supra*, p. lxxx, *seqq.*). After this the Court seem to have ordered his dismissal for some cause which I have not traced, and he was residing at Madras, as appears from the correspondence between JOHN PITT and PEACHEY, transcribed under the latter article. But

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[1] Court's Letter to Fort of 3rd Jany. 1678-9.

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in their letter of 21st Novr. 1699 the Court write to FORT ST. GEORGE:

"If you shall see fitt to readmit Mr. RAVENHILL, we shall say nothing against it."

Ralph Sheldon, and the Council for the affairs of the Old Company in Bengal, write to the Court of that Company, 1st Jany. 1706-7 :[1]

"We acquainted Mr. RAVENHILL of your honours approbation about him, and he being not turned out of your honours service in Mr. BEARD's time, he continues to the arrivall of these letters, when we presented him to the United Councill, having [ourselves] not occasion for him, with a caution about his succession, and they have accepted him into the United Service."

In this he survived to be one of the oldest of the Company's servants in Bengal. In the List dated 30th Jany. 1706-7 we find him entered as a senior merchant, but not in Council; in 1713 he appears as Translator of the Persian Language; and on 21st Jany. 1716-17 he died, after thirty-five years' residence in India, not quite a year before his contemporary Robert Hedges.

RAYNES, Capt. THOMAS. He was commander of ships employed by the Company, and his name often occurs in the records. He was a kinsman, apparently nephew, of Sir Henry Johnson the Elder, and married in India a niece of William Hedges, a daughter of his brother Robert Hedges of Burras,[2] and sister of Robert Hedges the younger (p. cxcvii, *supra*), with whom presumably she must have come out. There is no mention of her in the *Diary*. She may have been with Wm. Hedges and his family on the *Defence*. The Court, writing to Bengal, 30th Novr. 1681, say that the *Head* "frigot Privateer" had been bought and sent out under Mr. THOMAS RAYNES as Commander, and ordered "to sayle with the *Defence*, and to remaine in the Countrey for our service there". But a postscript from Sir JOSIA CHILD says the *Head* was found unseaworthy, and Mr. RAYNES ordered to return on board the *Defence*.

In a letter to Bengal, 21st Decr. 1683, the Court write:

"You tell us Capt. RAYNES is setled in a new employment, but you doe not tell us what employment. Wee must guess that, or learn it from others; if the late Agent had thought fitt to lett our Letters come home; however, we think it but just you should compell Captaine RAYNES to pay us the charge of sending him out."

There are two letters of Capt. Raynes's in the Johnson Letter Book in the British Museum,[3] which I transcribe. There is a certain un-

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[1] O.C. 8475.

[2] See Letter from Hedges in British Museum transcribed above, p. xlii.

[3] Add. MSS. 22,186, ff. 27, 29.

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consciously comic character about both, especially the second, which the old ship-builder, with some inkling of the humour of the thing, has indorsed "THO. RAYNES, *wth Reason why marryed*":

(No. 1.) "HUGLY, Jan. 2 168¾.

"Most Hond. S^r,

"I have not been Capable of producing any thing worth your acceptance except it be 780 mangoes, put up with all the care I could in a mum barrel, marked with the mark, HI which you will receive by Capt. WM. HEATH in the Shippe *Defence* . . . . . . My Cozen WILLIAM,[1] as you will hear both by Capt. HEATH and others, is as well as ever and as well in health, and if there is mony to Bee gott I am sure will doe it as soone as any one in this place, and I shall like wise do my indiver by Sea, so that if God grant us life and health we may, if you gett him the Cheifship of CASSUMBUZAR, gett as much mony as any two here, I am sure, for he does take the greatest delight in bisness that ever I see any one; and those that are his friends loves him as if he was their brother; and those that are his enimes feares him as being too Couning for them, as many of them, seeing what he has done, has turned, as perceiving that they rowed Against the Streme by contending with him and the Agent, as for the Companys intrest he has done more then all the mess heare putt them all to geather, by finding out who cheets the Company; and now I need not write you more of it, for I doubt not but Capt. HEATH, with the rest of our friends, will tell you what he has done and how he has be haved him selfe, so that he has gott the Loue of the Natives to such a hight that they would doe any thing for him, and likewise of BULCHANNS kindness to him, who is Gou^r of all these parts, he being the fittest man in this place to deale both with the ENGLISH and Natives, so I refer you to his (?), you will geather from his Letters and the Capts.

"I remaine Hon^d S^r,
"Your ever humble and most
"oblidged Servant and Kendsman,
"THOMAS RAYNES."

(No. 2.) "BALLASORE, ye: 28th ffebr: 168¾.

"Most Honored S^r:

"By the blessing of God, my Cozin & my Selfe are in good health, and there is no great fear but he will injoy it as well as any one here if he will butt be merry and Leve of Mallincolly, which I indiuer all I can to keepe him from. S^r, I mared the Agents Neas senc I came into this Contrey, for which I humbly beg your pardon, being don onknown to you. I hope my cozen WILLIAM will giue you an ample Account for what Resion I mared hur; she will be A great Comfoart to him if he should be seek when I am gon from him to Sea. I sent you by Capt. HEATH one mum barril with mangoes markt HI, and now by Capt. GAYER in Shipp *Society* I send you A piece of cloth colered Silk flowered with Gold and Silver, which I humbly beg you would be pleased to accept of, with my most humble service to my Cozins. I remain,

"S^r, your most humble servt:
"to bee Commanded,
"THOMAS RAYNES."

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[1] *I.e.*, WILLIAM JOHNSON; see under that heading.

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Another letter to Sir H. Johnson, Junr., in the same volume (f. 79), from Edward Poole, a passenger on board Capt. Raynes's ship, dated from Cape Bona Esperanza August 1694, gives a bad account of the Captain's conduct. It is indorsed by Johnson:

"Edward Poole accuses Capt. Thomas Raynes of keeping a —— aboard.... accusing him of Drunkenness, and abusing him, and turning him a Shore."

We hear of Capt. Raynes again in a letter from Governor Thomas Pitt to Sir Henry Johnson, jun. (who had just become a member of the Court), dated Fort St. George, Feby. 13th, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, Raynes having commanded the *Martha*, in which Pitt went out to Madras:

"Capt. Raynes (who has been extreamly oblidging to me, and very dilligent and carefull in the Companys Service) will deliver you a small token, of which I beg your acceptance, for I assure you 'twas made up, and markt, before any newes of alteration (as he will acquaint you); tis upon the account of pure freindship and old acquaintance." . .

"HJ. A small bundle of q[tes]
"One p[ce] super fine long cloth &
"One do. Madrass Chint."

In another of the same to the same, dated October 17th, 1701:[1]

"Capt. Raynes went to Persia, and I dont heare hee is returned."

And lastly, the same to the same, Feby. 8th, 170$\frac{3}{4}$:

"I am sorry for the Death of my good ffreind Capt. Raynes, and I beleive the hard usage he met at Surat did not contribute a little thereto. I have by me some snuff of his which he sent me from Surat, and tho' I have try'd all ways immaginable cannot sell it, but will speedily see what I can doe in truck for anything fitt for Europe, which will be better then let it lye and be entirely lost. My service to your Selfe, and your Brother Will: and all friends."....

In a letter to "Madam Raynes", dated Decr. 19th, 1704, the Governor condoles with her on the death of her husband and his own good friend, and informs her of the sale of the snuff at half a pagoda per pound, remitting the price to her at 13*s*. per pagoda.

RICHARDS, JOHN. This gentleman was keeper of the Company's warehouse in Leadenhall Street, but, moved apparently by ill-starred ambition, quitted this post for an Indian factorship, 17th October 1681, with the appointment of Chief at Balasore. In going out he was allowed to ship on his own account £500 value in pieces of eight, 260 oz. in wrought plate, and £100 value in gold and silver thread.[2]

Mr. Richards sailed with William Hedges in the *Defence*, but died

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[1] Add. MSS. 22,186, f. 130.

[2] *Court Book*, 7th Oct. and 7th Nov. 1681.

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from a fall on the fifth day after leaving the Downs (2nd Feb. 1681-2). His wife and children, who were on board, were necessarily carried to India. The widow also died at Balasore, 20th May 1683.[1] This lady is mentioned in John Locke's letter of 27th April 1683, of which a part is quoted above under the name of CHARLES CUDWORTH (p. cxx):

"If I have trespassed herein you must excuse it to the little distinction I make between you and your sister;[2] you must conclude I forget myself and thought I was talking to, and (as I used to do) learning something of her, and 'tis to the same account I must beg you to place the obligation you will lay on me, by procuring and sending hither an answer to the inclosed letter addressed to Mrs. RICHARDS. Her husband died going to the EAST INDIES, in a ship that set out hence about Christmas was twelve month, where he was to have been factor somewhere in the BAY of BENGAL, for the Company. His wife and two daughters who were with him, went on their voyage; where she settled herself and remains now you will easily know." (King's *Life of Locke*, ed. 1830, ii, 19-20.)[3]

In FORT ST. GEORGE Consn. of Feb. 3rd, 1686-7, appears notice of a sum of 5,000 *Rs.* paid into the Company's cash at Húglí, 19th Jan. 1684-5, in the name of BOWANNIDAS, by the late Agent JOHN BEARD, and that this was the proper money and estate of the deceased Mr. JOHN RICHARDS . . . . it was to be remitted to the Fort for the use of ELIZABETH RICHARDS there, and of another child who was in ENGLAND. "Itt is ordered that it bee paid to the Prest. for their accompt, and because wee are in want of money att present, to be made rec'd in the Rt. Honble Companys Cash, and a Bill given for the Same at 10 per Cent. Intrest p. annum, acompting Rupees 3½ to a Pagoda." . . .

SAMBROOKE, SIR JEREMY. Two Jeremy Sambrookes appear in the Company's Records of the 17th century.

First, there is a Jeremy Sambrooke constantly mentioned in the Court Books from the early days of the Commonwealth, as employed in the office of the Company. Thus we read under 20th June 1651:

"In consequence of reports that the KING OF SCOTLAND" (*i.e.* Charles II) "or the late QUEEN of ENGLAND designed to send some Person to PERSIA to obstruct the Companys trade, and considering how prejudicial it might proove unto them if effected, they ordered Mr. SAMBROOKE to write a letter to their President and Councill at SURAT, requiring them in case any ENGLISHMAN or other shall arrive with any letter or commission either from the KING of SCOT-

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[1] See *Diary*, p. 91; also a letter (O.C. 4947) in which Hedges and Council, writing to Balasore, notice the fact.

[2] Lady Masham.

[3] John Locke was one of the securities for Mr. Richards on his appointment; his colleague being Sir John Banks, Bart., and the amount £1,000. Afterwards Mr. Locke is allowed to share his half of the security with Thomas Oughton (*Court Books*, 4th and 18th Nov. 1681).

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LAND or his Mother, with a purpose to interrupt the Companys trade, that they should seize upon him as a prisoner, and returne him for ENGLAND with the first opportunity."

Under 3rd Jan. 1654-5 we have mention of the same person; and again under 7th March of the same year he is granted £100 gratuity in addition to his salary of £160; and in the following year a gratuity of £50. Under 10th Feb. 1657(-58) Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOKE is

"Entertayned General accomptant to Keep the Companyes Bookes in such way and Manner as shal be thought fitt by Mr. Governour, Mr. Deputie, etc."

24th Sept. 1658: "Mr. JEREMIE SAMBROOKE as Accomptant has his Salary fixed at 200*l.* per annum," to which is added, under 27th October, a further allowance of £20 per annum, in lieu of fees on transfer of stock.

This elder Jeremy died a little before 1670. A letter (O.C. 3518) from CHARLES JAMES to Mr. SAMUEL SAMBROOKE, dated SWALLY MARINE, 3rd Dec. in that year, speaks of information received of the death of Mr. Jeremy S. And Court Book of 11th Jan. 1670(-71) mentions a payment in connection with the estate of Mr. J. S. deceased.

Sir JEREMY was not a son of this elder Jeremy, I find, but probably a nephew. His father was "Mr. Samuel Sambrooke Merchant in London",[1] and the son was born about 1636, as appears from an examination of him before a commission on the Winter conspiracy, in 1668, in which he describes himself as "aged near thirty and two years" (O.C. 3231.)

In *Court Book* of 25th Nov. 1663 we read:

"Upon the Petition of JEREMY the Sonne of Mr. SAMUELL SAMBROOKE who hath served 8 years to Ald. BATHURST, and both before and since hath been conversant in the Companies businesse heare, by which and the Caracter from his Master and others, the Court judges him to be a fitt person to doe them eminent service in INDIA, and thereupon they entertained him into their imployment to goe a Factor to FORT ST. GEORGE at 40*l.* per annum for 5 yeares, and that his endeavours may be imployed in such businesse as he is most apt for, They appointed him to be Warehouse Keeper there, to take care and see that all Callicoe when it is brought in be according to the Musters contracted for, and that they be then tried and equally sorted and embaled and that whoever shall be in that employment at his arrivall there doe surrender to him."

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[1] We find mention of three Samuel Sambrookes: (1) the father of Sir Jeremy, who was apparently keeper of the calico-warehouses; (2) a son of the last, who was employed under his father; and (3) Samuel Vanacker Sambrooke, the son of Sir Jeremy. Mr. Samuel Sambrooke, the warehouse-keeper, is mentioned in Court Book, 9th Sept. 1670:

"It is ordered that the Husband doe deliuer unto Mr. SAM: SAMBROOKE 460 Callicoe Sheets; 1,200 course neck clothes; 351 neck clothes; 16 paire of Shirt Ginghams, and 3 small jars of *Achar*, free of mulct."

In an earlier entry (15th May 1633) he is assigned a salary of £200.

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In a copy of a Fort St. George letter, dated 8th Dec. 1664, without signature, but apparently from Sir Edward Winter, the Agent and Governor, complaining much of the conduct of some of his colleagues, especially of Mr. JEARSEY,—a letter which must also have been signed by Mr. Sambrooke,—we read:

"If you doe enquire you will find them to have some prejudice to the Agent and soe their passions tempt them many times to informe you amiss; however, he feares them not, but is determined, God willing, to send all your Shipps home and make you full returnes, hee can doe you no wrong though you should mistrust him; Your goods were all sold by consent, and Cloth bought in according to Musters deliverd to JEREMY SAMBROOKE whom you have appointed for that purpose. What more can be expected know not, vnless your worships would have your Agent to be a slave to a Company of People that are rather proud of their Offices then capable or desirous (many of them) to act anything for your Good." . . . .

There is much more about the Agent's differences with his colleagues, especially with Mr. Jearsey, and about Mr. Gyfford's attempts to reconcile them, which only drew hostility upon himself. At the end the following paragraph is inserted as a kind of rider:

"However JEREMY SAMBROOKE doth not by his signeing these Letters Introduce himselfe in the Differences that have so unhapily byn betweene the Agent and others, but wishing a friendly composure which hee promiseth shall allwaies bee his endeavour, but declares to the best of his Judgment these present advices may bee to the furtherance of your worships Affaires, waveing all Contests and leaveing them to your Worshipps own determination."

In another Letter, dated 12th January 1664(-65), signed also by GYFFORD:[1]

* * * * * * *

"JEREMY SAMBROOKE hath made it his request to the Agent that as he is principally intrusted with your worshipps Affaires hee would please with our selves to give your worshipps a Character of him as wee have seene his behaviour and care to have byn, to which request wee willingly condescend, and do assure your worshipps that his carryage and behaviour is such and so Sivill that wee wish you neuer may have worse; and for care and dilligence in his Imployment, your Agent can not but thanke your Worshipps for sending him out (thereby saveing him of the trouble which he him selfe before tooke vpon him, he haveing not more knowledge in Cloth then Vseing it) for your Worshipps advantage, and of that we are dayly ey witnesses that it is his business from Morning to Night to sort the cloth, so as we hope it will give your W^{rs} content, being as a worke of no small difficulty so of a greate deale of Labour and Trouble, so that wee doubt not but you will also give him encouragement, which we know he doth deserve, and which he shall not finde to be wanting in us.

* * * * * * *

"Wee give your Worshipps thankes for sending us so able and pain full a Minister; the Allmighty direct us to follow his Doctrine.

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[1] O.C. 3037.

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"There is one Mr. SHEPPARD who came forth as a Soldier, but bred a Linning Draper and hath good skill in Callicoes, wee have taken him being a Civill person, to bee an Assistant to Mr. SAMBROOKE."

The gentleman who writes or causes his colleagues to write in this somewhat Uriah-Heepish style, had become second in Council under Mr. Foxcroft, the successor of Sir Edward Winter, at the time when the latter displaced Governor put in execution a strange *coup d'état* (16th September 1665), in which Mr. Foxcroft, his son, and Mr. Sambrooke were attacked, wounded, and confined, whilst Mr. Dawes was killed in the affray. Winter actually held the Agency, and kept the governor in confinement, till 22nd August 1668, *i.e.*, for three years! The counter-revolution was effected by the arrival of two of the Company's ships with a king's commission for the reduction of the place; but it was only surrendered on a guarantee of personal safety and protection of property to Sir Edward and his associates, whose offence was practically condoned. The whole transaction is somewhat unintelligible; though it illustrates vividly the weakness of the control of the Company over their settlements, through the great distance and tediousness of communication.[1]

I give here a few selected documents out of the large number in the India records which treat of this singular history.[2] First, some specimens of the declarations or depositions of Sir Edward Winter and his partizans, as follow :—

Declaration by Sir EDWARD WINTER, 19th Septr. 1665.[3]

"Whereas GEORGE FFOXCROFT Agent in the affaires of the Honoble: ENGLISH East India company was lately impeached of severall treasonable words and practices which was confirmed by the Oathes of two competent Witnesses, and whereas he the said GEORGE FFOXCROFT upon the Soldiers Crying out 'for the King, for the King,' and being comanded in the Kings name to Keepe the Peace, did notwithstanding to the manifest breach of the same furiously runn upon the Captain and all the Soldiers (as) did alsoe his son NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT, JEREMY SAMBROOKE and WILLIAM DAWES, who were all wounded and closely

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[1] Bruce, after his manner, throws no light on the matter :

"Though they (the Court) condemned the whole of Sir EDWARD WINTER's conduct, while he retained possession of the FORT, and excluded Mr. FOXCROFT from the station to which he had been appointed, their opinions appear to have undergone a material change, on receiving fuller information of the case; and this change was also observable in the King and Privy Council; whether it proceeded from the information given by Mr. CHUSEMAN and Mr. SMYTHES, on their arrival in ENGLAND, or whether it originated in the prudent expedient of removing not only Sir EDWARD WINTER and his partizans, but Mr. FOXCROFT and his adherents, to make way for a new Agent and Council, unconnected with either, it is perhaps unnecessary to enquire." . . . . (ii, 256-7.)

[2] See more under Part IV, No. 5.

[3] O.C. 3090.

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secured, the said WILLIAM DAWES being since dead of a shott he received in his body, by which aforesaid action the said GEORGE FFOXCROFT was formally voted incapable of further acting in the Company's affaires; and whereas I EDWARD WINTER Knt. and Barronett[1] their former Agent was generally voted and desired to bee Cheife Director with the assistants of the Councill restant (?) of their affaires in FFORT ST. GEORGE &ca. untill it should be enordered otherwise either by the plurallity of the Councill or immediate order receaved from the Hono^ble Company to the Contrary, yet refused the same untill I should have satisfactory assurance, and plenary Engagement, that if those of the Councill absent should not Confirme what hath bin already voted, I should have free Liberty and licence to dispose of all my estate, and to retire whither my owne occasions may call me without the least disturbance or interruption as by the said writing or Engagement bearing date with these presents more at large appeareth, Now I the said EDWARD WINTER Knt. and Barronett in Consideration of the premises and the present Exigencies of affaires doe upon the unanimous request of the Companys ffactors Servants officers &ca. accept of being Cheife Director of the Honoble: Companys affaires, and withall Covenant and agree and faithfully promise that if the Generallity of the Councill absent shall not condiscend confirme and agree to what hath been already voted and desired that then I oblige my selfe to render a true and perfect accompt of all things by me acted and receaved from the date hereof, and to surrender up this place and charge to such person or persons as are or shall be impowered thereunto and to make good to the said Hono^ble Company all iust claymes and Legall demands whatsoeuer they have or may have against mee. Witness my hand this 19th day of September Anno Domini 1665 in FFORT ST. GEORGE.

"EDWARD WINTER.

"Signed in the presence of

"SIMON SMYTHES.
"BENJAMIN CLAPTON.
"NATH: CHUMLEY."

"*Copie of* SIMON SMYTHE'S *Deposition against* JEREMY SAMBROOKE.[2]

"I SIMON SMYTHES Clerke Minister of the Word of God for the Hono^ble East India Company att FFORT ST. GEORGE, hauing bin both an eare and eye witness of severall seditious and treasonable words and practises, spoken and acted by JEREMY SAMBROOKE and WILLIAM DAWES, ffactors at the said ffort in the aforesaid Company doe declare and am ready to confirme as well upon my owne

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1 In a letter of Foxcroft's written 15th Septr. 1668, after his release, he says (O.C. 3219):

"It's now out of doubt that Sir EDWARD'S title of Barronet was assumed, it being wholy left out in his Majesties Commission, &ca., and only the title of Knt. mentioned."

He appears in Courthope's *Knights*, as:

"EDWARD WINTOUR of LIDNEY, Gloucestershire, Kn., 13 Feby., 1661-2, a Captain in the E. I. Service, and Govr. of FORT ST. GEORGE: died at BATTERSEA."

He is not in the list of baronetcies, existing or extinct.

2 O.C. 3082.

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personall Oath as by the Oathes of severall persons then present as followeth, vizt:—

"1. That the said Jeremy Sambrooke and W^m. Dawes on Thursday last being the fowerteenth day of this present September 1665, did in the presence of CHARLES PROBY Merchant, and FFRANCIS CHUSEMAN Capt. of the said ffort affirme that the present Agent GEORGE FFOXCROFT was above reach, and not lyable to be charged with treason against his Majestie during the time of his Agentship.

"2. That the said JEREMY SAMBROOKE and W^M. DAWES did at the same time and place in the FFORT aforesaid peremptorily deny to take my depositions against the severall seditions and treasons charged then upon GEORGE FFOXCROFT and NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT his son by EDWARD WINTER Knt. and Barronett, although the said depositions were by mee said SIMON SMYTHES freely and voluntarily offered to be Confirmed and make good upon Oath before them.

"3. That I the said SIMON SMYTHES being not permitted to be deposed upon Oath before them, they refusing to administer it me, to make good the said seditious and treasonable words and practices, which I was ready to prove and make good against the said GEORGE FFOXCROFT was (by the instigation of the said JEREMY SAMBROOKE), and the ioynt order of him and GEORGE FOXCROFT, detayned prisoner, and not permitted to goe out of the ffort, and confined to my chamber, without any reason that was alleadged or pretended for the same. Witnesse my hand this sixteenth day of the month of Septr; Anno Domini 1665.

"SIMON SMYTHES."

"*Copie of* JOSEPH FFARLEY'S *Deposition against* GEORGE FFOXCROFT, (September 13th 1665.)[1]

"I Joseph FFARLEY ffactor for the Honoble: EAST INDIA COMPANY in FFORT ST. GEORGE on the Coast of CHOROMANDELL, being required to speake, depose what I knowe and personally heard concerning severall seditious and treasonable words spoken by GEORGE FFOXCROFT Agent for the said HONOBLE: COMPANY in said FFORT ST. GEORGE in the month of August 1665 doe declare and am ready to testifie upon Oath as followeth vizt:

"That the above named GEORGE FFOXCROFT, Agent, being present at the same time and place of our usuall dineing within the said ffort about the middle of the month of August in the yeare of our Lord 1665 did in my hearing Checke SIMON SMYTHES minister at the FFORT aforesaid, and expressly forbad him to speake any more when he was opposing and contradicting his son NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT in those two seditious and treasonable assertions of of his then spoken vizt:

"1: That the said NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT was obliged to maintaine his private interest before the Kings.

"2: That the said NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT was bound to obey or serve the King noe longer then he could protect him.

"3: And further I doe declare and am ready to confirme upon Oath that the said GEORGE FFOXCROFT Agent in the same usuall place of dineing (though at another time, yet in the said month of August in the Yeare of Our Lord 1665) did at Table publiquely say that he had purchased an estate in or nigh

[1] O.C. 3073.

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TOTNESSE in the County of DEUON to the value of twenty thousand pounds, for which had not receaued as yet twenty thousand pence though doubted not but in short time, either himself or his eyres should enioy it.

"4: And ffurther I doe declare that the said GEORGE FFOXCROFT Agent, did assert after that his son NATHANIELL FFOXCROFT had maintained that the present King of ENGLAND had no other title to his Crowne then that of Conquest, that the present Padre SIMON SMYTHES could not prove that any King in Christendome had any Title to his Crown but by Conquest.

"JOSEPH FFARLEY."

"Sworne this 16th September 1665 in the presence of the Right Worshippfull SR: EDWARD WINTER Kt: and Barronett, Mr. CHARLES PROBY, and Capt. FRANCIS CHUSEMAN.

"Sworne before us the day abouesaid { EDWARD WINTER. CHARLES PROBY."

Letter from Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOKE, *dated in* FORT ST. GEORGE, 9th November 1665.[1]

"On the 16 September at prayer-time in the Morning was apointed for the time at which notice was given to the Agent, just as CHUSEMAN was coming up, that there was some stirr among the Soldiers, itt being just prayer time, I was going up to church along with Mr. PROBY having only a small Rapier in my hand (according to the Custome and Order in the Fort) and hee the like. At my coming to Church not seeing the Agent as yet come down, I went up to his Chamber, just at my coming to his doore I heard some that were in the gallery, cry out that the Soldiers were in Armes with their Swordes drawne, the Agent hearing that, and that their Swordes were drawne, went downe the Stayres, with his Sworde drawne. I followed him with mine drawne, and Mr. DAWES he followed mee; coming to the Staires foote, wee saw all the Soldiers drawne out, and that sickman CHUSEMAN, with those of the Plott about him, in the Head of them, with Pistolls cockt, and swords drawne in their hands. Hee and some of the Company crying out 'for the King', some of them 'fire', and some of them 'knock them down', the rest of the Soldiers knowing not of their Intentions, were drawne out, and stood still behind them with their Armes. The Agent passed forward to CHUSEMAN to demand an account of what he did, whose only answer was to meete him with his Sworde, discharging his pistoll at him, and with all his might made at his head, and closing with the Agent flung him downe, severall Pistolls were discharged against us, though God be thanked none mortally wounded but Mr. DAWES; wee were no sooner come downe, but in an instant the Agent was downe, and Mr. DAWES though he stood still by me on the staires having not so much as his Sword drawne; I seeing the Agent falne, went with my sword drawne to helpe him against the treacherous villaine ~~Chuse-man~~ (*sic*, obliterated) (being as it were stunned at the sudaines of their Actions) who seeing mee coming left the Agent to make at mee, to the best of my remembrance I made two passes at him, and hee at mee without any hurt, till closing with him, I received my wounds from others, and was knockt downe, ffor Mr. NATHANIELL he came down without any Armes, but seeing his father falne slipt into his chamber, being just at the Stayres foot, got his Pistolls, and at a back door goeing out, came out and made at CHUSEMAN, without doeing execution, wee being all wounded and falne before he got round; upon that, they

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[1] O.C. 3099.

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gott the Agent and carried him away, and lockt him up in a by hole, where they use to put their fowle Dishes, and other Rubbish, I hearing the Doctor was in the Church got up, and went thither, but not finding him there, was going downe but had lost so much blood that I was forced to call for helpe to get into my Chambre."

From Court's letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 7th December 1669.

"Upon severall hearings before the right honble: a Committee of the Lords of his Majesties most Honoble: Privy Counsell, concerning Mr. GEORGE FOXCROFT, his sonn, and S^r^. EDWARD WINTER as to their acting in India and matters in controversy arrising therefrom, and a report made by them to his Majestie, hath produced his Majesties order, Copie whereof we send you herewith, As also the Comission mentioned therein, by which order you may take notice it is his Majesties pleasure that Mr. NATHANIELL FOXCROFT doe return for England, by these shipping, and Mr. GEORGE FOXCROFT our Agent is to remaine in India, vntill the next yeares Shipping that shall be sent out after these that are now goeing, and that Sr. EDWARD WINTER doe return by these shipping, or then come home with Agent FOXCROFT, and in the meane while that he bee permitted to live peaceably without disturbance. And by the Commission you will find that S^r^ W^m^: LANGHORNE, Mr. MOHUN, Mr. HYNMERS, and Mr. SMITHSON, or any three of them are apointed to examine all matters in difference vpon Oath and what goods they shall find hath bin seized upon, of S^r^. EDWARD WINTERS, that they doe restore them to him, or the value thereof vpon the place, and that what goods or other Estate Sr: EDWARD WINTER hath of ours, that he restore them, or the value thereof vpon the place, vnto which order and Comission for more certeinty wee referr you, and require that you give full complyance thereto on our part, so as it bee also complyed with on S^r^. EDWARD WINTERS part. And call the Comissioners together and deliver the Comission to them to act thereupon, which we hope S^r^. WILLIAM LANGHORNE and Mr. MOHUN, Mr. HYNMERS, and Mr. SMITHSON, as good conscience doth oblige them, will take espetiall care, duly and thoroughly to examine all matters in difference," etc. etc. . . . "ffor what concernes personall controversies, wee forbeare to write anything, for that they will find out the truth thereof by examination vpon the place. But for our demands of reparations and restorations from S^r^. EDWARD WINTER, so farr as wee are yet informed, (they) will arise vpon the debt he owed us when he came from INDIA, the severall overcharges of his during the time of his Agency, compositions made with TYMONAH &c. for former wrongs, which he hath not brought to accompt, Iregular charges and expenses, undue abatements on goods, after sold, and for not bringing to Accompt the profitt on goods sold" (etc. etc.) . . .

"And wee require you to give Sir EDW: WINTER all lawfull assistance for recoveringin of his debts, and that he be permitted to live peaceably and quietly without disturbance, And in what ship he shall desire to come home in, that you give direction for his reasonable accomodation befitting his quallity, and that he be permitted to invest what stock he hath, in any fine goods not prohibited. . . ."

(Another paragraph directs passages to be granted to Mrs. SMYTHES and her family; another cares for the goods of Mr. CHUSEMAN, and for the passage of his wife and children, and the provision of employment for Mr. CHUSEMAN'S son William.)

Jeremy Sambrooke returned to England with Mr. Foxcroft, arriving

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in the summer of 1672, as appears from an entry in the Court Book of 3rd July:

"Mr. GEORGE FOXCROFT late Agent at FORT ST. GEORGE, and Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOK being returned from India, did this day present themselves to the Court."

Mr. Sambrooke, some years after his return to England, became a member of the Court of Committees, *i.e.*, a Director of the Company. His first election took place 21st April 1677,[1] and thereafter frequently up to 1698, when he lost his election, and did not stand again. He was in the Court when William Hedges was selected to go as Agent to Bengal in 1681, and as he had married one of the Vanacker family, sister to Mrs. William Hedges, it was probably through his influence that the appointment was made. Mr. Sambrooke was knighted on board the Earl of Berkeley's Ship, 31st January 1682.[2]

He died 27th April 1705.[3] Respecting his son Sir Samuel Vanacker Sambrooke, Bart., see a note at p. xxvi *supra*.

There is a letter from Sir Jeremy to Governor Pitt in the volumes of letters received by the latter which are in the British Museum (Addl. MSS. No. 22,851, f. 71):

"Sr:

"I received yours of the 21st September 1700: per the *Howland*. I have not been of the Committee (nor intend ever more to be), since Mr. BOONE, Mr. COULSON &ca. and myselfe, 18 in all of us, were left out about 4 yeares agoe.

"The New Company and the old are so intrigued that I am glad I am out, and have nothing to doe in the management thereof.

"I send you enclosed open, my letter to SHACKA SERAUPA, advising of a clock sent him from me, which I would desire you to deliver to him, or his Son; upon their promise to you, never to send anything more to me, without I write to them for it, and if they will not soe promise you, Pray dispose it for me as you please.

"I am in hopes before I close this letter the two Companies will agree. It is the desire of the King, and Nation in general, that they should, and of this I am sure; and have and will promote it as much as I can.

"I have some months past married my son to the Eldest Daughter of the Rt: Hble: the Lord Keeper (Sr: NATHAN WRIGHT) who is a friend to your friends (without naming of them) as well as to me.

"Lno. 19th November 1701.

"Since writing the above the two Companies are agreed, of which you will have a full account. Your good friend Mr. COULSON was lately so ill that he was given over; but it hath pleased God to restore him. Pray positively forbid SERAUPA for sending anything for mee, and desire the Captaines &ca. not to

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1 See Note Book, p. 27.

2 Le Neve's Baronets, MS. in the College of Arms. The Earl of Berkeley was long a member of the Court of Committees. Sir Jeremy lived in Basinghall Street (see *Life of Dudley North*, iii, 101).

3 Luttrell's *Diary*, v, 515.

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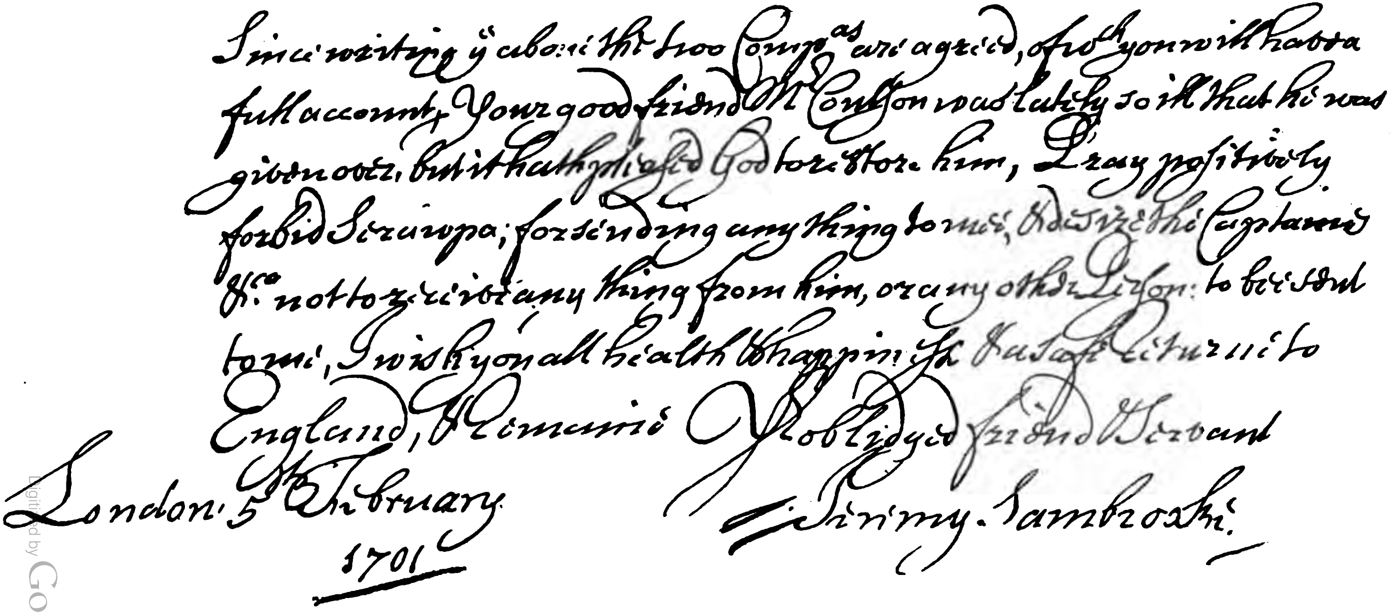
Since writing ye above the two Compas are agreed, of wch you will have a full account; Your good friend Mr Coulson was lately so ill that he was given over, but it hath pleased God to restore him, Pray positively forbid Seraiopa; for sending any thing to me, & advize the Captaine &ca not to receive any thing from him, or any other Person: to be sent to me, I wish you all health & happiness & a safe returne to England, & remaine Yr obliged friend Servant

Jeremy Sambrooke.

London 5th February 1701

receive anything from him, or any other person, to bee sent to me. I wish you all health and happiness, and a safe returne to England, and remaine yr oblidged friend and servant,

"JEREMY SAMBROOKE.

"London 5th February 1701" (-2).

SOWDON, JAMES (miscopied *Lowdon*, p. 147 of Diary). Arrived as writer, 1678; at Patna as 2nd of Council, 1686; in 1691, chief of Bencoolen factory in Sumatra; dissensions between him and his Council led to confusion, and he was displaced.

STANLEY, HENRY. Chief at Balasore when the troubles broke out in 1686, and after the pacification went with Mr. Mackrith as Charnock's harbinger to the Bay, and re-occupied the post at Húglí.

Mr. John Hill writes from Balasore, 30th July 1690:

"I was received by both (the Governor and the Dewan) with great respect, the former at my request Immediately ordered the Gong to be beat declaring the renovation of the usuall privileges of the ENGLISH. The acclamation of the people through all the streets I passed Expressed a great deale of Contentment at the News. The Governor was angry with Mr. STANLEY and Mr. MACKRITH for coming no further than the DUTCH Pylott berth within the Barr and then suddainly returning without any reason as if they came to play at Bo Peep. . . ."

Stanley and Mackrith write from Húglí a fortnight later (16th August):

"The Governor of HUGLY has not yett concluded that our Shipping should come above TANNA FORT, therefore least your Worshipp &ca: should bee there affronted by the Tannadar . . . . We shall immediately send to the Governor to acquaint him with your Worships &ca. arrivall."

Job seems to have been in want of the simplest equipment when he arrived at Chatánatí, and the same person wrote four days later:

"Those necessaries your worship &ca. gave us a note of are such of them as are ready to bee had, herewith sent, vizt: 1 pr. of *Gurras*, 10*as*. per pces.[1] 3 large Dishes of our owne Stores from MADRASS, 1 dozen of Trencher plates belonging to Mr. CROKE, such as he sold for 2¾ rups: per *Corge*,[2] the rest shall follow. . . ."

Mr. Stanley returned to Balasore, and some years later very serious charges were brought against him, though I have not found the result. By a letter of 4th Feby. 1697-8, addressed to Governor Pitt of Fort St. George, and President Eyre of Bengal, the Court commissioned them to inquire into these charges:

"We have lately been informed that severall great Embezzlements to our prejudice were made during the War in BENGALL, and particularly that

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[1] Perhaps *gāṛhā*, a coarse cotton cloth, as at p. cclxv.

[2] *Corge*, "a score."

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Mr. STANLEY, our present Chief at BALLASORE, had a hand in conveying away into the DUTCH ffactory two chests of Treasure during the Embroil at HUGHLEY, which were never since heard of . . . and forasmuch as it becomes us to enquire into these informations, and that it may cause too great Animositycs and heart burnings among our Servants in BENGALL for them alone to make so strict an Inquisition as the case requires, We have resolved to commit the Examination of the whole to your two particular cares and province . . ."

THOMAS, JOHN. (See *Diary*, p. 117.) Arrived in 1668 as an apprentice on £5 a year. Merchant in 1679, and 3rd of Council at Húglí. A year or two later Mr. Thomas went to England ill, and deranged in mind. The Court wrote to Fort St. George, 15th February 1681-2:

"We shall return to you again Mr. JOHN THOMAS, in the quality of a Merchant, and at the Salary of 30*l.* per annum. He lately arrived from the BAY in a weak and poor condition, having been cruelly and inhumanly abused by Mr. VINCENT there.

"He hath the GENTUE language,[1] so if you think fit you may send him for one of the first you send to GYNGERLEE, and the last of Councill, because he hath been distracted, and it may be his distemper may return, but his desire is to be as farr as he can from his Wife."

And on the same date, to Bengal:

"By Mr. JOHN THOMAS who is now arrived from the BAY, we have accompt (among other wicked actions) of Mr. VINCENT, that he hath practised Diabolicall arts with the Braminees and others on the Bay, for betwitching him, the said Mr. THOMAS, and afterwards the better to fulfill his lustfull desires with his Wife, did chain him, the said THOMAS, to a Stake, and exercise other inhuman cruelty upon him. We the rather give you this advice that our Agent and Councill and others under their direction may the better prevent and avoid the said VINCENT exercising charmes, or useing poyson, by securing him a safe custody from conversing with any of the said Witches or other Natives, and return us a full accompt of all the said VINCENTS barbarities and other cruelties to the said THOMAS and others, since his being in the BAY, as well as his frauds and abuses put upon us, all which let be sent us fully proved and attested by a competent number of persons."

And in *Court Book*, under 23rd October 1682, we read:

"Mr. JOHN THOMAS was now elected to serve the Company as a ffactor at the Salary of 40*l.* a year, and in regard of his experience in the GENTUE and PORTUGEEZ Languages he is appointed to be 3d. Supra Cargoe on the *Carolina* in the present Voyage for CHINA next Mr. HOLMES, and to be 3d. also in Councill in such ffactory as shall be settled in CHINA. And it is ordered that 20*l.* be given to him as a gratuity for his past services, and 5*l.* for his fresh provisions, and he is permitted to ship out 500 pieces of 8, 2 chests of Wearing apparell,

[1] This generally means *Telugu;* and this application is confirmed here by the reference to "Gyngerlee," the name by which the Telinga coast above Masulipatam is generally known in the records of the seventeenth century.

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one Barrell Lyme Water, 40 gallons of Brandy, one Escritore, and 2 pair of Pistols freight free."

Hedges incidentally notices these ships bound for China, and the presence, on one of them, of "one Mr. Thomas, who was distracted."

THREDER, JOHN. Arrived as writer in 1676; 3rd of Council at Kásimbázár in 1679. He and Richard Barker came repeatedly under the suspicion with Hedges of exactions of silk from the native merchants and weavers, but without any conclusion, and they seem to have had Charnock's protection. But some time after Hedges' displacement, in October 1685, a native writer formerly in Threder's employment gives into the Kásimbázár Council a paper in Persian alleging details as to Threder's having at various times carried out of the Factory sums amounting to *Rs.* 47,000. Accusations were also brought against him of gross overcharges, and of taking a skein of silk on each draft, etc.

On this the Kásimbázár consultation records:

"The Chief of the Factory (*i.e.*, CHARNOCK) was not then in a condition to discover any of these frauds, by reason he had no other of Councill but Mr. CATCHPOOLE and Mr. THREDER, who were combin'd together, besides they were great favourites of Mr. VINCENT and the Agent HEDGES, who were his great enimyes, and it will appear that the Chief found enough to doe when he discovered Mr. CATCHPOOLES trading with Interlopers, Agent HEDGES giving no assistance therein, but rather connived at it, and opposed him in all things, as appears by said Agent HEDGES violent actions towards the Chief when he came last up to CASSUMBAZAR, where he abused him in the heighest measure imaginable, and it will appear that the Chief being suspitious of wrong done the Rt: Honble. Company in the Warehouse did advise Mr. BEARD thereof when Second of HUGLY, and desired an honest Person might be appointed."[1]

I cannot make out that Threder was dismissed, though he had apparently left Kásimbázár before the date of this inquiry. He is repeatedly mentioned as present at Mergui, at the time of the expedition of Capt. Anthony Weltden in 1687.[2]

TRENCHFEILD,[3] RICHARD. Nominated Writer Novr. 1670; arrived 1672. Factor 1677; in 1676, at Balasore; in 1679 is 2nd of factory at Malda; 19th Novr. 1680, Mrs. Trenchfeild is permitted to take passage on the Company's shipping to the Fort, "she paying the charge of her transportation." Trenchfeild is repeatedly mentioned by

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[1] Book of Consultations of Cassumbazar Factory, in I. O. Records.

[2] See the printed paper in B. M., quoted under FRANCIS DAVENPORT.

[3] The name is usually written thus, not only by others but by himself. By a misreading, throughout the *Hedges' Diary* it has been printed FRENCHFIELD, and the same mistake is made by Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time* (i, 246), and in the MS. Index of O.C. Papers in India Office.

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Hedges, and was a member of his Council at Húglí. He was, as we have seen, with Charnock through the events of 1686-8 on the Húglí, and played a somewhat prominent part (*supra*, pp. lxviii-ix); but he did not get on well with Job (who probably complained of him to Sir Josia Child, *more suo*), and this apparently was enough to condemn him in the Court's eyes. Their principle of trusting the Chief (in Charnock's case) was good, though we may doubt whether Charnock personally deserved all the trust reposed in him. They write to Bengal, 27th August 1688:

"Mr. TRENCHFIELD was coming home before the late war began, and we have heard holds no good correspondence with our Agent Mr. CHARNOCK, and we have paid so dear for your factions formerly, that altho we have a respect for Mr. TRENCHFIELD we dare Suffer no new Factions to bud or sprout up against our Agent, whom since we dare trust in the head of our business in BENGALL we are resolved to trust him thoroughly, having reaped excellent fruit from that method in the great confidence we have reposed in our Generall Sr. JOHN CHILD, and therefore we do hereby discharge Mr. TRENCHFIELD from our Service at present, giveing him leave to return for ENGLAND, or reside at FORT ST. GEORGE, in the quality of a free Merchant, at his own discretion."

The dismissal of TRENCHFEILD was evidently ordered with some compunction, and the Court recur to the subject in a letter of 15th Feby. 1688-9, remarking on his close alliance with Mr. LITTLETON and those who crossed all CHARNOCK'S affairs. If Mr. TRENCHFEILD desire it, they will authorise the General[1] to take him to the BAY, and if he can there effect a *perfect* reconciliation with CHARNOCK, TRENCHFEILD may be employed again:

"But if our Generall doubts that, we would not have him on any faint hopes, or anything less than a perfect assurance, make such a dangerous experiment." . . .

And then follows a passage quoted on p. lxxvi, above. CHARNOCK, too, speeds the parting colleague with the condemnation quoted on p. lxxxvi.

Thenceforward TRENCHFEILD seems to have traded from Madras as his head quarters. We find him temporarily employed in 1692 under the government of President YALE, and with him Mr. JOHN PITT, as envoys carrying a petition for certain concessions at Madras, with presents to Asad Khan, the Vizir of the Empire, then encamped in the neighbourhood of GINGI (properly *Chenjí*).[2]

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[1] Sir JOHN CHILD, who had been ordered to proceed to settle matters at Madras and in Bengal (see *Bruce*, ii, 620), but was not able to carry out this project previous to his death, 4th Feby. 1689-90.

[2] See Court's letter to the Fort, 3rd Jany. 1693-4; and Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, i, 246-7. Oddly enough this mission is also mentioned in *Luttrell's Diary*, under date 1st Novr. 1692:

"The Governor and Councill of MADRAS and ST. GEORGE, finding the MOGUL'S son likely to prevail, have sent Mr. TRENCHFEILD and Mr. PITT, two merchants, with a good present to him in goods" (ii, 606).

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In 1699 again the Court wrote (20th December) that Mr. TRENCHFEILD's friends acquaint them that he had a prospect of being appointed Governor of FORT ST. DAVID, and they make no objection. Before this letter was written RICHARD TRENCHFEILD had died at Madras (about 3rd October). He had been nominated by the New Company as one of their Council in BENGAL (see under LITTLETON), though it seems doubtful if he had himself any cognisance of such nomination.

In a letter to Mr. PROBY at MADRAS, dated METCHLEPATAM, November 9th, 1699, JOHN PITT, President for the New (English) Company, and Consul at that place, writes:

"I am heartily sorry for the loss of our good Friend Mr. TRENCHFIELD and pitty his Lady; my real service to her."

We have also a correspondence between TRENCHFEILD and PITT (who was the same person who had been associated with TRENCHFEILD in 1692), a few weeks before the death of the former:

From Consul JOHN PITT *to* RICHARD TRENCHFEILD.

Dated, "METCHLEPATAM, Aug. 30, 99".[1]

"Dr. Br. TRENCHFEILD[2]

"Sr. Either you are more under the lash now than ever, that you have not the liberty to write to an old Acquaintance and friend, or else my good civill gentle kinsman[3] ingrosses all the papers, for I had an Elaborate one from him two dayes ago which I have now answered and sent him and Councill a copy of my commission and an order to them to publish it in all their settlements as you see by the Inclos'd copys sent you, least they Shou'd conceal this which I am apt to beleive they will. But they had best have a care and not carry the jest too farr. Let Bror. AFFLACK, Bror. CHARLES[4] and the rest of our Friends view both and give me notice how it relishes. I have a mind to doe some business near you if you can give me any encouragement, and let whome you will mannage it. What if you did it your self and Joyn this with Bror: AFFLACK if you have noe mind of the Service you can advise a little. Wee shall want a good honest man and well experienced in the *Dubarrs* to accompany our Embassador when he comes up the Coast, and assist him in his Journey and at Court, and indeed to mannage the whole Embassy by his Excellency's directions, for he has not the Lingo him self. Give me your opinion who you think fittest for't. Will send you a Chest of Wine by the *Neptune*, t'other chest is in the Bay. You must get and send me a Collection of all the *Phirmaundes* and *Neishans*, and other grants and Priviledges The ENGLISH Nation ever had from the MOGULL, King of GOLCONDAH, or any other Prince for SURRATT, BENGALL and all the COAST, and what you think may be fitt to ask, write in full and your whole sense and

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[1] O.C. 6720.

[2] I suppose the "Dear Brother" implies that they were freemasons; or is it only a sign of their old *camaraderie*? It will be seen at the end he styles Mrs. Trenchfeild his *Comadre*.

[3] Governor THOMAS PITT.

[4] Probably C. FLEETWOOD.

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Judgment upon't that it may be ready against his Lordship's Arrivall that he may not be Mistaken in his demands.

"My service to my Comadre
"and Friends, I am yours
"J. P."

We have TRENCHFEILD's reply to Consul JOHN PITT in the following:—

"*A copy of some Paragraphs taken out of a letter from* Mr. TRENCHFIELD, *dated* Sept: 15, 99" (from MADRAS):[1]

"Honourable S^r.

"I cannot Judge by what misfortune my Letters to you should fail comeing to your hands . . . takeing all the ways I thought proper to secure their Safe Passage Should any design be to Stop them, tho' hithertoo I have not heard your kinsman has bin guilty of any Such Practice which I have often heard him protest against.

"Last night I received your Letter, and the Peon requesting an immediate answer, I cannot advise you. I have shewn the Papers to those you direct me to Shew them. But I may assure you your papers to the Governour has not bin kept private, but much discours'd of, and you blaim'd for Intermedling with the old Companys affairs: you have nothing to doe till the time limited by Act of Parliament is expier'd. This is the Generall discourse here, and I think not much unreasonable, nor do I beleive your commission will be publickly read here.

"How to supply you with a person Capable to accompany the Embassador to Court and assist him I know not, their being in my judgment noe person here any ways fitted for such a Charge but Mr. BRADDYLL, who I am sure will not accept thereof, and designs home. 'Tis true here is one Mr. RAVENHILL who understands the MOORS Language very well. But I think not the PERSIAN. But I cannot think him Capacitated for Such an Imploy, but might Serve for Interpreter for the MOORS.

"He is dismis'd the Companys service, being sent from BENGALL as a person given up to Sloth and negligence, and at Present in great want. You ought to have one well verst in PERSIAN, and a MOOR or an ARMENIAN for *Vaqueel* or Linguist for thembassador, but here is none in this place fit for that charge.

"You cannot be insensible that 'tis Impossible for me to procure the *Phirmaunds*, *seichans*, and Priviledges given our Nation for this and other Settlements in India without the Governours Order. I am glad to find you think propper to have directions in Such cases against the Embassadors arrivall, a thing, I think, absolutely necessary, being really of oppinion that unless due care be taken and the Embassador sufficiently Instructed into our Circumstances he may, instead of doeing the Nation Service, Ruine the Trade. I must own that being for now about five years out of the Companys Service,[2] and having Spent good part of that time in Voyages, and being withall a Suspected Person to the Governour of this place,

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[1] O.C. 6733.

[2] He evidently does not count from his ordered dismissal in 1689; or perhaps that dismissal was never carried out.

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"I have never concern'd my Self about their Affaires, and forgett many perticulars in BENGALL, and Ignorant of allmost all here; however, I shall, by next conveniency, give my apprehensions and thoughts as they occur to my memory, and have just now received Invitations to attend the Embassador[1] on board, who came into the road this morning; if I can get leave I shall attend him there. But hope some method may be taken for his comeing ashoar, where he may be fully informed what is propper to be done at court in relation to this place. But should it not happen that he land here, I think it absolutely necessary that he write the Governour and Councill for their advice about his proceedings at Court about this and other settlements here, which I beleive may be not much better circumstanced than in BENGALL, not having any confirmation of our Priviledges from the MOGULL since his conquest of GOLCONDAH; and, by what I understand of the MOGULLS Temper, 'tis dangerous to run ourselves possessours[2] of any Fortifications in his dominions, which he has constantly refus'd to admitt of. And should he order their demolishment, know not how 'twill be avoided but by work consequence to warr to be a totall Ruine to the trade;[3] but I shall not insist on this now, designing to be more full by the next.

"I hope you will not forget my Chest of wine, and have, with my wife's respects, only to assure you, etc., "RIC: TRENCHFEILD."

RICHARD TRENCHFEILD, though he did not escape the almost general fate of dismissal from the Company's service, quits the field with no stain, so far as we know, on his character. He writes like a gentleman and a moderate man, with no malice against the Old Company whom he had served; and his differences with Job Charnock, for which the Court reproach him, had probably most ample justification.

UDALL, Captain HENRY. This ship-captain is mentioned several times in the *Diary* of Hedges (see *Index*).

There is, among the India Records, an autograph letter of Captain Udall, commanding the *Herbert*, dated BANCOP (Bankok), August 26th, 1686 (O.C. 5516), followed by another letter from George Petty, dated Sept. 15th, and addressed to Mr. John Rea, apparently the brother-in-law of Capt. Udall, and left by him in charge of the *Herbert* at the mouth of the river of Siam. The last letter reports, without particulars, the murder of Capt. Udall by the "MOCOSSES" (Macassars) on the preceding day. A letter from Mr. Rea to some one in the India House, dated Siam, 26th October 1686 (O.C. 5529), says:

"The 23d (August) came to An Anker in SIAM bay; and this Afternoon our Captain went away for SIAM . . . . . . the 18th day of September I received A

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[1] Sir William Norris, who was sent out as King William's ambassador to the Great Mogul, but at the instigation and expense of the New Company.

[2] "Professours" in the copy.

[3] Here also there seems some misreading in the copy.

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letter which brought the unfortunate and onhappy News of my brother Capt. HENRY UDALL, Commander of the *Herbert*, being killed the 14th Ditto, in A fight against A passell of Rebbells to the King of SIAM called MOCCASSES." . . .

A letter again from Fort St. George Council to Sir John Child and Council at Surat, dated 20th Decr. 1686 (O.C. 5544), states that Capt. Udall had been killed in defending the King of Siam against an insurrection, but gives no more explanation. This letter, however, affords an addition which, in an unexpected fashion, recalls certain incidents related of medieval Italian war:

"Mr. COATES also, seeking to make his escape, or some way or other accidentally, runn into a Boggy place, where (*being all in Armour*) sunck down into it, and taken up dead."

In the *New Account of the East Indies*, by Capt. Alexander Hamilton (vol. ii, chap. xlvii), a curious story is told of the repeated exhumation of Capt. Udall's body; but the author does not seem to have been aware of the circumstances of his death.

VINCENT, MATHIAS. Entertained as Factor 4th Novr. 1661; arrived in India in 1662; Senior Merchant in 1670. In 1678 (and perhaps earlier) Chief of Húglí Factory. A charge was brought against Vincent of having caused, in 1673, the death of Rugo Podár, a native broker attached to the Factory, a case investigated by Mr. Streynsham Master, on his first visit to the Bay, and of which some account has been given under his name (pp. ccxxi, ccxxxiv). The Court seem already to have been ill-disposed towards Vincent, perhaps with more reason than they had in some cases, and they took up this charge as a just one. In the *Court Book*, 7th November 1681, it is ordered that "a humble Address be made to his Majesty to bring home the said VINCENT in safe custody, to answer the same." This resolution comes some years after the Court had received from India the result of the inquiry under Master, and had acknowledged it as follows. (To the Bay, dated 12th Decr. 1677):

"We note you have acquitted Mr. VINCENT from any guilt, both as to Mr. HALL's charge and RUGO PODAR's death. Wee at any time had rather you finde our servants innocent then guilty. But one passage in Mr. VINCENT's proceedings wee cannot pass by without noteing it, and that was that dureing the time of the Tryall he sent to ANNUNTRAM, warning him to be sure to speak the truth, which if he did he should have Imployment and livelihood, and if he did not he should spoil himself and his livelihood, and all should be lost, which persons concerned ought not to have done."

But it is probable that this revival of the charge of homicide by the Court was promoted by accusations against the Chief of another character, which always exasperated them, that is, of dealing with Interlopers and of unfaithfulness to his masters. The man who could be guilty of

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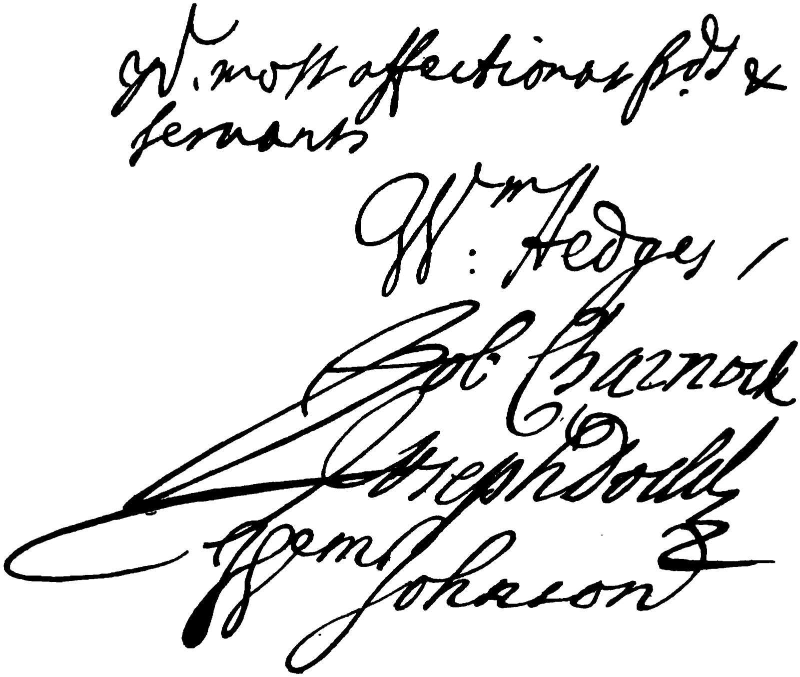
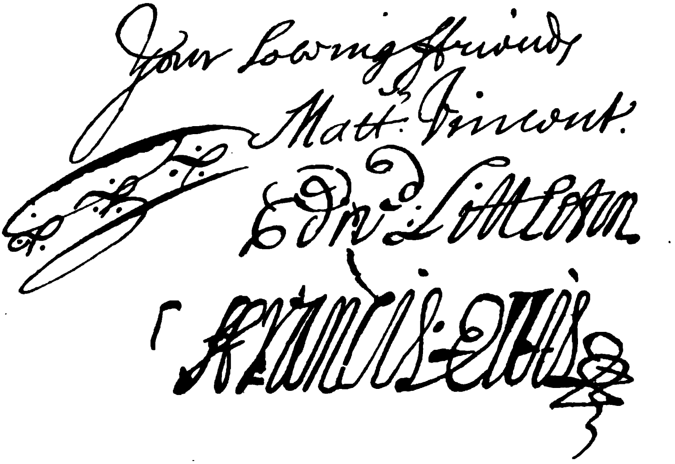
No. 3. **PLATE VI.**



No. 4.



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this could be guilty of anything, *e.g.*, of homicide, of witchcraft, and poisoning, as we have seen in the preposterous paragraphs quoted under JOHN THOMAS. The charge of unfaithfulness which led to Vincent's dismissal at the time of Hedges' appointment, repeatedly occurs in the records, and has been recited in the extracts from the commission issued to Hedges (*supra*, p. xv). Another accusation, probably too well founded, is contained in the following. (Letter to Bengal, 18th Novr. 1681):

"Upon examination, we do find that Mr. MATHIAS VINCENT during the time of his chiefship at HUGHLEY hath appropriated to his use under pretence of *Dusturey*, or allowance for Brokage, or otherwise for keeping the accompts, two and half p. cent., which hath been paid him by the Buyers of all our Silver and pieces of 8^{s}., over and above the severall prices which he hath brought to accompt in our bookes, which amounts to a great sume of money . . . . for that he hath openly and publiquely at HUGHLY owned this his Cheat of *Dusturey*, saying that it was his due." . . . .

Again, in letter to Bengal of 20th September 1682:

"Though we account Mr. VINCENTS putting our *Dustore* in his own pocket no other wise than robbing our cash of so much money, yet in regard of the usage of that countrey, we think it may not be amiss to continue the taking of it, bringing it all into the Companys Cash, as Mr. CHARNOCK has done this year past."

And in the same letter:

"We are by too many ways assured that we have been miserably abused by VINCENT in the buying of our goods, not only in HUGLY, But by his Complices in all other Factorys of the BAY, both in selling our Bullion and buying of our Goods, pray take effectuall and diligent heed to have all such injuries remedied for the future."

The Surat Council write to the Court, 10th April 1683,[1] as hearing by "advises from Bengalla," of

"Your Countrey (*i.e.*, Native) servants beaten by the Government (*i.e.*, the Mahommedan authorities), and money forced from them, in such manner that all are afraid to serve. The interlopeing Shipps neare fully laden by the means of your false Servant VINCENT . . . VINCENT intends for England on the *Crowne*, he and PITTS talks at a Strange rate, give out that Your Honours are broke, and they Chiefes for a new Company. Wee hope they will meet with a due reward for contemning his Majesties Charter."

Hedges does not record the fact of Vincent's departure with "Pitts", that defiant interloper who, after various re-appearances in that capacity in the Ganges Delta, turned up at Madras in 1698, in the character of governor, the zealous servant of the Old Company, and the unrelenting enemy of their rivals. But he mentions the departure of Pitt himself in the *Crown*, and doubtless Vincent was on board with his ill-gotten gain. We have met with no further notice of him; and as there is no

[1] O.C. 4925.

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indication of his existence in the copious collection of Pitt's correspondence when Governor, it is probable that he was dead before 1698. Nor does he appear anywhere, I think, in connection with the New Company, which presented a Cave of Adullam so attractive to the dismissed servants of the Old East India Company.

We recall the fact mentioned by Hedges in a letter printed above (p. xlii), that T. Pitt's wife was Vincent's niece. The maiden name of Pitt's wife we know was Innes; probably Vincent had married an aunt. (See remarks in Part V.)

YALE, ELIHU. Nominated writer along with Francis Ellis and R. Trenchfeild 11th Nov. 1670; arrived at Fort St. George, 1672; factor, 1679; mentioned by Hedges (p. 183) as of the Council at the Fort in 1685. Appointed governor in place of Mr. Gyfford, whom he relieved 25th July 1687.

Mr. Yale's government lasted for five years, during the last two of which he was at daggers-drawn with his Council; the quarrell arising originally out of certain charges which were brought against his brother Thomas Yale. These dissensions led the Court to make the appointment of Sir John Goldsborough as Commissary-General, and to supersede Mr. Yale by Nathaniel Higginson.

As usual with the Court in those days, when they had once given a man his *congé*, any stone that was handy was cast after him, and Yale runs for some years the customary gauntlet of virulent and malignant disparagement. It always begins mildly, but advances in a rapid *crescendo*, which reminds us of one of Marryat's sea-captains, who used to begin an address to one of his officers in terms of the suavest politeness, but gradually rose to the most abusive and denunciatory expletives.

They wrote, 22nd Jany. 1671-2:

"Our late Presidents desire of sending out an able experienced honest person to hear and determine all Controversies between himselfe and our Council has put us upon the choice of Captain John Goldsborough, whose experience, wisdome, and moderation is sufficiently known to all Englishmen that have conversed in India, and we thinke is a very honest man."

And again, in the same letter:

"Mr. Yale, our late President, we would have continue at Madrass until the arrivall of our Supervisor Capt: Goldsborough, that all Differences may be fairly adjusted there by the wisdome and Moderation of Capt: Goldsborough, that upon Mr. Yale's returne hither we may have nothing to say to him but to bid him welcome home, which is our desire may be done likewise by all other persons before their return, which would save them and Us a great deal of trouble here."

From Court to the Fort, 18th Feby. 1690-91:

"We desire President Yale to finish all our affairs that have been under his mannagement to our most advantage, and to bring us home our full returne with

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him, or what thereof he can possibly, as Sr: William Langhorne did to his own honour and peace, and to our Satisfaction; and therefore we shall consign the next effects to President Higginson &ca. *nominatim* according to our Commission, and in so doing we Shall bid him well come home, hopeing in time that he may be as great a man in the head of our affairs here, as he hath been abroad, and be further greatly Serviceable to his Country and the Company."

From Court's Letter to Fort of 10th April 1693:

"Mr. Yale complains very much against Mr. Gray and Mr. Fraser and indeed all his Councill, and we should thinke the worse of them if any good men of our Councill could at any time have pleased him, or have taken complaisance in serving the Company under his government, but that we could never observe in any of the honester men we sent to India, particularly Mr. Charnock, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Bigrigg and many others whom Wee could name. His Countenance and ffavours alwayes run to another sort of People, such as Mr. Trenchfield, Mr. Nicks, Parson Evance, Cawley, his brother Thomas Yale, and many more of that kind we could mention . . . . He constantly complaines no Goods were to be had at the Fort. But we have been told sent vast quantities for his owne Account and other Friends to the Manillas, Atcheen, the West Coasts, and other Places, and lately by the *Orange* a prodigious quantity of Neckcloths, while we hear of none for the Company, notwithstanding the vast Cash he hath had in his hands, of ours for many years." . . .

And again, 3rd Jany. 1693-4:

"We find none of your letters unanswered but that of the 10th Feby. 1691-2, and that of the 14th Oct. 1692. The former part of the first letter contains only a multitude of complaints against the deceased Agent Charnock, who was always a faithfull Man to the Company, and therefore it is no wonder Mr. Yale did not affect him."

Sir Stephen Evance also writes to Pitt, under date August 1, 1702:[1]

"As for President Yale, they were very kind to him at his first comeing, for fear the New Company got him over to their side, which they endeavoured to doe, and offered him a Barronett Ship, treated him at my Lord Keeper's and Lord Halifax's, but (he) would not betraye his old Masters, went and acquainted his Majestie the Trade could not be carried out without a joint Stock" . . .

The Commission superseding Mr. Yale by Mr. Higginson arrived at the Fort 23rd Oct. 1692, and took immediate effect.

Yale some years later appears as an intimate correspondent of Governor Pitt. In the letter-books of the latter in the British Museum are preserved several of his letters to Pitt, and transcripts of many of Pitt's letters to him. I have quoted under Eyre a passage of one of the former (dated "London, 12th Feby. 1701-2"),[2] and I now give a subsequent passage from the same:

"Your good Lady and fair daughter Essex lodg with her sister in our neigh-

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[1] B. M. Add. MS. 22,852, No. 5.
[2] Add. MS. 22,851, f. 65.

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bourhood, and often make us happy with their good Company, but the young Lady is now to be settled at tother end of the town for accomplishments of Musick, french &ca, and Your Lady, after despatch of the Shipp, design'd for SALISBURY, where the rest of your Dear family are verry well—May they continue Soe to your happy meeting. Pray my cordiall respects and services to ingenious Senr. ROBERTO and your good Selfe" . . . .

Extract from Letter to ELIHU YALE, *from* T. PITT *and* DANIEL CHARDIN,[1] dated FORT GEORGE, Feby. 1st 1704-5.[2]

* * * * * * *

"Your old ffriend Don THEODORE was certainly at great charges to bury his Wife; for which you or Wee could have bury'd Twenty. Wee beleive him generous, and hope he will prove honest . . . .

"We also take notice how you bemoan the Sale of your garden, both of us thinking that outcrys are the fairest Sale not only of houses, but of all commodities in this place . . . . Madam NICKS doubtless writes you how she letts out your Godowns, and how she repairs your houses is seen to everybody. Wee put up your house in town to Outcry, and because it came 90 pagodas Short of your orders it lyes unsold."

Extract from a very long letter from Governor PITT *to* ELIHU YALE, dated October 3rd, 1707:[3]

"I received your noble Present of a fine Silver Watch and Seales, two peices of Drugget and a Choice Canary Bird, but noe Letter upon these ships. I am highly obliged to you for the former, but doe assure you a Line from a good freind (as I esteeme you) is of farr more value with me, then the greatest offerings that can be made."

There follows much detail as to the events and disturbances following the death of "the Great AURENGZEEB"; of the audacious and destructive piracies in the INDIAN Seas, committed by both EUROPEANS and ASIATICS, and of the disturbances of MADRAS rising out of the feuds between the Right-hand and the Left-hand Castes. A last paragraph begins:

"I remember in your former letters you hinted to me that the MOGULL being then very Ancient and his death hourly expected, 'twould be worth while to await the Prodigious harvest of Diamonds that must then be reap'd. I have liv'd to see the end of that great Man, but find you have not predicted rightly of the event, for I do assure you that diamonds were never so scarce and dear since my Arrivall as they are at this time, and purely for the reasons you Judg'd wou'd make 'em otherwise . . . . those who have 'em are unwilling to Part with 'em, and mony'd men desirous of Purchasing 'em tho' at dear rates," etc.

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[1] This was a brother of Sir John Chardin, the famous traveller, who was a resident at Madras.

[2] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,848, No. 123.

[3] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,850, No. 80.

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ADDENDA TO PART III.

ARBUTHNOT, Captain, see p. lv.

I cannot find in the Court Book, or Letter Books, a record of the Court's Resolution to award the medal to this gallant soldier, whose name they would so mangle. But in their letter to FORT ST. GEORGE of 25th Jany. 1687-8, I find the following notice of its despatch to India by the ship *Defence*, Capt. Heath:

"In what Package the Sword and Mace to be carryed before our Generall and President, and the Silver Oar to be carryed before the Chief Judge of the Admiralty, and the two City Maces to be carryed before the Mayor, *and Medall for* CAPT. ARTHBURNET are you will find at the foot of our Invoice, in a large wooden chest, being marked J. B."

And in the *London Gazette* (No. 2270) From Thursday, August 18th, to Monday, August 22nd, 1687, there is a detailed account of the events at Húglí, abridged from that copied at p. lv *supra*, and terminating with the following announcement:[1]

"The East India Company, in acknowledgement of the Services they have received upon this and the like occasions, have ordered a Gold Chain with a Medall to be sent to Captain ARCHBURNETT, by whose conduct the Fort at HEUGLY was taken."

It is very remarkable that this should have appeared in the *Gazette* at such an early date; whilst in the Court Books and correspondence of the Company, though search has been made by Mr. Mayo, as well as by me, no notice of the medal has been found, except that noted above regarding its shipment to India.

BRADDYLL, ROGER.

Extract from Court Book of 15th Jany. 1695(-6).

"ORDERED, that it be referred to the Committee for writing of Letters, to incert a Clause in the Company's Generall to the COASTS and BAY, touching the great Debt owing by Mr. Braddyll."

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[1] For this information, and the communication of the extract from the *Gazette*, I am indebted to Mr. J. H. MAYO, Assistant Secretary in the Military Department of the India Office.

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This is followed up four months later by the following right and left shots (*Court to* BENGALL, 14th May 1696):

"We observe what you have done with Mr. PEACHY, and would have you always not only to observe every man that runs out in expences, but to remove him as soon as you can from any place of Trust, We having found, by long and constant experience, such men unfaithfull to our Service, which gives us more than a Suspition of Mr. BRADDYL, whom we find exceedingly in our Debt, as you will be certify'd more particularly . . . and therefore we do hereby, as we formerly did, order him to go up to the FFORT, and to be no farther concerned in any service for us in BENGALL, and we require you, by any Effects of his or otherwise as you can, to secure the Debt he owes us."

From a letter of GOVERNOR PITT *to* ELIHU YALE, dated "FORT ST. GEORGE, ffeby. 21st 1699/1700."[1]

"Your ffriend ROGER I tooke into Councill here, and I find him ROGER still, the same troublesome man as he was in BENGALL, he reports that Sr: Josiah has promised him the succession."

The following passage also certainly refers to Braddyll, and shows that he went home in 1701:

From GOVERNOR T. PITT *to* SIR THOMAS COOKE, *dated* FORT ST. GEORGE, *Oct.* 18, 1701:[2]

"The man that chiefly disturbed your affairs here, as alsoe wherever he came, did as you suppose returne upon the last shipping, full freighted with Mallice and inventions of his own; but I doubt not that notwithstanding he thinks himselfe one of the cunningest men in the world, you'll soon find him out."

For other references to Roger Braddyll, see *infra*, in Part V; letter from Sir Stephen Evance to Pitt, Aug. 1, 1702, and Pitt to Sir Charles Eyre, Sept. 29th, 1702, etc.

DAVIES, THOMAS, see pp. cxx-cxxii. At the end of the article should have been inserted:

Extract from Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE *of* 28th Sept. 1687.

"DAVIES the Interloper we require you, immediately upon receipt of this, to commit and detaine in prison, untill he shall find sureties in 5000*l.* penalty to answer the Process which you are to cause our Attorney Generall to exhibite against him in our Court of Admiralty, for being an Interloper &ca: and if our Judicature find him guilty of that misdemeanour of Interloping, they are to fine him to the Company, according to the hainousness of the Offence, and keep him in prison untill the fine be paid; the question is not whether he be indebted to the MOORS or not, but singly whether he has been an Interloper and active in promoting Interloping, Contrary to the tenour of his Majesty's Charters to this Company."

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[1] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,842, No. 72.

[2] B. M. Add. MSS. 22,844, No. 17.

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Extract from Court's Letter to BENGALL of 26th Jany. 1697-8:

"We have received a Paper of Complaint from Doctor DAVIS of great Injuries alledged to be doue to his brother Mr. THOMAS DAVIS by Agent CHARNOCK in the year 1686, on account of his being engaged with the Interlopers against the Company. It is confest That none of his Estate came into the Companyes hands, nevertheless We earnestly recommend it to you that a strict Enquiry may be as far as it is possible touching the whole affair, and send us an account thereof by the next."

DORRILL, Capt. ROBERT. It may be a slight confirmation of the identity of Capt. ROBERT DORRILL, second of Council in Bengal 1693, with DORREL or DORRILL, commander of T. Pitt's interloping ship *Crown* in 1682, that in the Settlement at the India House of the accounts of John Pitt, lately factor at Madras, and cousin of T. Pitt, "Capt. ROBERT DORRILL and THOMAS PITT, Esqr." are associated as Securities (see Court Book, of 14th April 1679). This Thomas Pitt is, however, *possibly* not the former Interloper and future Governour.

EVANS, Rev. JOHN, see pp. cxxx-cxxxiii.

Extract from Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 22nd Jany. 1691-2:

"Mr. EVANS having betaken himself so entirely to Merchandizing we are not willing to continue any further Salary or allowances to him after the Arrivall of our two Ministers We are now sending you, because the charge of maintaining four at that place will be too great."

In an earlier letter (18th Feb. 1690-9) they call him "Mr. Evans, the quondam Minister but late great Merchant."

From a letter of Governor Pitt's to Sir Edward Littleton I have made the somewhat surprising discovery that this merchandising Padre Evans actually became Bishop of Bangor (see the letter in Part V, dated Nov. 8th, 1702.

It is a fact that he was nominated Bishop of Bangor 4th Dec. 1701, and was translated in 1715 to the See of Meath, which he held till his death in 1724. By the will of John Pitt, the New Company's President at Masulipatam, Bishop Evans was named guardian to his son (see letter from T. Pitt to Capt. Ridout, B.M. 22,848, Nos. 3-4). I suppose bishops generally have biographers, but I cannot find any particular notice of this bishop except in the recent work of the Rev. Charles Abbey, *The English Church and its Bishops*, 1700-1800, i, pp. 162-3 (London, 1887). I will transcribe what Mr. Abbey says:

"JOHN EVANS, Bangor (1701-1715), does not appear, in some mentions of him, in a favourable light. We find him in the anteroom of the Jerusalem Chamber giving the lie to the Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation[1]; in the

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[1] Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*.

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House of Lords protesting against the French offers of peace[1]; in Ireland (for he was afterwards Bishop of Meath) angrily remonstrated with by Swift for his behaviour to a poor Curate; and of his being specially acquainted with preferments, as if he made it his peculiar province.[2] At the same time, it must also be said that his contemporary, Sir James Ware, spoke of him as having been in both dioceses a vigilant pastor; and that he is spoken of by Mant as a generous benefactor to the Church."

Here are three letters of his from the British Museum collections:

(1.)

(Dated at end) "Aprill 18th, 1698,
"GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
"*near* MOUNTAGU HOUSE."

"*To* JOHN ELLIS *Esqr.*
"att Mr. Secretary Vernons office
"in Whitehall."[3]

"Sr,

"I entreat the fauour of you to write to your correspondent in COPENHAGEN, desiring him to enquire for Letters directed to me, which I expect may be Sent on the DANISH Ships homeward bound from the EAST INDIES, and so forward them under your couer by your first Post after they come to hand, it's usuall that your Ships make Some Stay at ELSENORE, or Some other Port before they conclude their Voyage, therefore it is my earnest request that he would be pleas'd to make as early an enquiry as possibly he can for my Letters, and to Loose no time in Sending them by your Post.

"I am Sr.
"Your most humble Servant
"JOHN EVANS."

Another note to Mr. Ellis is signed JO: BANGOR, and dated "BANGOR July 14th 1703." Contents trivial.

(2.)

(Dated at end) "Bangor Augst 5th" (no year, the allusion to the proclamation of George I fixes it as 1714).

"*To Dr.* SLOAN
"In GREAT RUSSELL STREET
"BLOOMSBURY.[4]

"Sr,

"I hear Mr. NEEDHAM is come to LONDON, and his Cos: BAYLY (Partner of the Estate left him by Mr. BAGENALL) Sets out this day to meet him there, I pray you to do me the Favour to let me have a Line from you as soon as you can on the Subject I mentioned often to you, Viz: what Party your Gentleman is of for If he be not of my Countrywomans Side no offers of Services from me will be acceptable to him. So I must Leave him as I find him. I am glad the King was proclaimed in So peaceable a manner. I beg your pardon for this trouble and remain

"Sr,
"Your Faithfull and humble Servt.
"JO: BANGOR."

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1 "*Parly. Hist.*, vi, 1152."

2 "*Nicholson's Letters*, p. 527."

3 Sloane MSS. 4036, f. 322.

4 Add. MSS. 28,882, f. 231.

(3.)

To the same.[1]

(Dated at end) "7ber. 4th.

"Sr,

"I am much oblig'd to you for your Kind answer to my letter tho (it seems) you have not yet" (been) "able to Satisfy my trifling Query, I understand Mr. NEEDHAM and his Cosen BAYLY are not like to hit it, he Soon designs to Visit this Country, If he be right in his Politics he may do a great deal of good in it but If he be wrong in his notions, he Shall find me a civill Neighbour and noe Farther.

"Pray favour me with my hearty Services to my countrywoman,[2] my Friends are very Slow in giving an account of present occurrences," etc.

"JO. BANGOR."

"7ber. 4th" (no year, but the same as last).

GOLDSBOROUGH, Sir JOHN. See pp. clvi-vii, and also (under MASTER) p. ccxlii.

Extract from Letter of Court to FORT, Jany. 22nd, 1691-2:

"We have desired Capt. GOLDSBOROUGH to go in hand immediately with the building of a Steeple to your Church with the Mony Collected for that purpose, according to Dimensions given him, and by our next Ships we intend to send you a Ring of Six tunable Bells to fix in our Steeple, which the ffounder tells us cannot be cast sound at this season of the year."

GOUGH, RICHARD (also written GOFF). Nominated by the Court as factor, 12th December 1683; the same date on which the dismissal of Hedges was decided. He is named in the Commission to W. Gyfford, 21st Decr. 1683, (see p. xx, *supra*), as 7th of the Council at Húglí. He was one of the few Company's servants who behaved with friendliness to Hedges. He seems soon to have become dissatisfied, and proposed to return to Europe *via* Persia, with the dismissed Agent. This excited violent anger against him, and caused his arrest. But he did embark with Hedges, and reached the Persian Gulf with him (p. 202), after which we hear of him from Hedges no more.

"Richard Gough", no doubt the same person, was a Director of the United Company in 1706. He is alluded to in a letter to Governor Pitt quoted under BRADDYLL (p. cix), and in other passages of the Pitt correspondence, generally with a note of disparagement.

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[1] 28,927, f. 163.

[2] Possibly his correspondent's wife. Sir Hans Sloane's wife was a daughter of Alderman Langley, which conveys nothing as to her country.

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GRANTHAM, Sir THOMAS. To insert at p. clxxxiii, before the paragraph beginning "Sir Thomas is described" . . .

Extract from Court Books of 21st Nov. 1694.

"Sir THOMAS GRANTHAM, one of the owners of the Ship *Charles the Second*, acquainting the Court that Captain DORRILL had written unto him, desiring that he would meet him in the DOWNES with a Smack, the better to Secure the Said Ships comeing about into the River, And that if the Court thought fit he intended with some other Commanders to repair into the DOWNES accordingly, And to afford their best assistance to Capt. DORRILL in his passage hither, The Court thereupon were pleased to express their kind resentment of his readiness to Serve the Company on this occasion, and ordered that Mr. ROE or Mr. BALL the Company's Surveyors should attend him, and follow his Directions, for taking up such Vessell or Smack as may be most proper for this Service, And to proceed with him therein for the DOWNES."

GRIFFITH SAMUEL. We find this gentleman nominated in a letter from the Court to Bantam, of 21st Sept. 1671, as a factor for TYWAN in Formosa.

"Mr. SAMVELL GRIFFETH, at 30*l*. per annum, who hath skill in physique and drugs."

He is mentioned by Hedges at Fort St. George in 1685; and his name appears occasionally as a member of the Council of the Bay during the troubles of 1686-7 (see *e.g.* pp. lix, lx, *supra*). The Court, under date 19th Novr. 1686, resolve that "Mr. SAM: GRIFFITH, now 3rd of Council at HUGHLEY be removed to FORT ST. GEORGE, there to serve the Company as a Factor". And in a letter to Bengal dated 7th Jan. 1686, they say:

"We observe . . . that Mr. SAMUEL GRIFFITH is a contentious man and has struck up a great opposition against his chief Mr. ELLIS, and Mr. LEY (both whom we know to be true to our Interest), and that he, the said Mr. GRIFFITH, has craftily drawn Mr. TRENCHFIELD into a confederacy with him, which Mr. TRENCHFIELD is a man we have good thoughts of, and therefore to suppress all factions in the budd, which we will never more endure in the BAY, We do hereby Totally dismiss Mr. GRIFFITH from our service, and from having anything more to do in any of our affairs in BENGALL, but we give him leave to go up to the FFORT, to reside there as a free merchant, except our President and Councill shall think fitt, when he is there, to take him again into our Service and make him a Chief of some new ffactory in the SOUTH SEAS,[1] or near the places where he has been formerly imployed."

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[1] "South Sea" in these records means the Malay countries.

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GYFFORD, WILLIAM. The following extract should have been inserted at p. clxxxviii, before the paragraph commencing "Gyfford in turn" . . .

From FORT ST. GEORGE, "*Dyary & Consultation* . . . 8th August 1684".[1]

"The Honble: WILLIAM GYFFORD, President, intending on board in the evening, he, in order thereto, deliuered up the Charge of the FFORT &ca. to ELIHU YALE, appoynted by the Honble: Company to be Chiefe of their affairs on the COAST in his absence, after which went to Church, and from thence was conducted by the principle ENGLISH, PORTUGUEZ, &ca.: through a Guard of three Companies of Souldiers to the Seaside, where, after kind farewells, took boat, and was saluted by 31: Peices of Ordnance, which, upon his embarking on Ship *Resolution* was Returned by all the Shipps in the Road, who continued their Sallutations till late att night; and next morning early, accompanied with the *Beaufort* and the Sloop *James*, with a fresh gale, Sailed for BENGALL, where the Allmighty send him a Safe arrivall with health, Success, and a happy returne."

HARVEY, SAMUEL (p. cxcv). Add the following:

From Court's Letter to Húglí, 18*th Decr*. 1676.

"We are informed that Mr. Harvey doth openly broach his Atheisticall notions, declareing that there is neither God nor Devill, but that after death all things will be reduced to Atomes, of which they were first compounded, and that Religion was onely devised by Subtile men to keep the World in awe, Wee doe strictly enorder that an examination of this be taken before our Cheif and Councill, while our Commanders are there, whome wee would have present thereat, and that wee may have an Accompt thereof; and if he or any other be guilty of any such Crimes, that you send them home by these ships without any excuse. Of this wee have been informed by a Letter from Mr. JOHN SMITH, Copy of which wee send to our Agent and Councell, and we hear he makes so publick a profession of it that you cannot want other witnesses to prove it."

HAGGERSTON. At the end of this article (p. cxciv) is an allusion to an attestation by Haggerston, the reference to which I had lost. I now find it to be the copy of a document headed:

"At a Consultation held in BOMBAY CASTLE, ffeby: the 25th, 1689-90, having a relation towards a peace between us and the Mogull." (O.C. 5703.)

To this is appended the following attestation:

"Coppie of y. originall
attested by us:
SAML. WHETCOMBE
JACOB BARBAR
THOS. HAGGERSTON."

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[1] In India Office.

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Now Jacob Barbar was at this time a member of Council at Bombay; Samuel Whetcombe was the same a year later; and the signature of Thos. Haggerston is in the indubitable autograph of the delinquent arrested in Bengal in 1683.

OXINDEN, Sir GEORGE.[1] The following extracts refer to the Company's grant of a medal to this President of Surat for his distinguished exertions in the defence of the Company's Factory against the Mahrattas on their first raid on Surat, in 1664 (see p. ccxxvi *supra*).

From the Court Book, 23rd March 1665-6:

"The Company being now a writeing another letter to SURATT by the *Returne*, the Court was reminded of the eminent Service of Sir GEORGE OXINDEN in the defence of their Estates, the Saveing of halfe the Companyes Custome at SURATT, and procureing other Priviledges, and moved to consider his deserts in that and other matters, and according to their former promise to give him a Suitable encouragement, and that there are severall others alsoe that have deserved very well, and have binne promised they should be considered, the Court did thereupon seem very apprehensive of the same, and inclinable to make him and the rest some proportionall returne for their good service. Yett least it might in this time of Warr strengthen the Companys hand, they thought it more convenient to deferr it at present, hoping there may be peace ere long, which wilbe a fitter time for this purpose; but, however, they agreed not to (defer?) their resolutions herein longer then the next advices to SURATT, and therefore directed that the Secretary doe mind them hereof after the next election to appoint a Committee to examine this busness, and prepare the Court for a full conclusion herein."

Extract from Letter of Court "to President and Council in SURRATT", *dated 27th March* 1668:

"Wee have taken into our Consideration, your great care and courage, in the Defence and preservation of our Estates, in the time of SEVAGEES invasion (although you did it in the discharge of your trust). And as an acknowledgment of our sense thereof, and your good service therein, Wee have now sent to Sr: GEORGE OXINDEN, the value of 200*l.* in gold, with a Medall of Gold, put up in a Box, delivered Capt. WHITEHORNE, wherein is alsoe twoe Seales for BOMBAY. To Mr. JOHN GOODIER 100*l.*, to Mr. HENRY GARIE, who was then with you in Counsell, 60*l.*, To Mr. GERALD AUNGIER 60*l.*, made vp severally and directed to each respective person, And we hereby order for your disposure 400*pds.* to be distributed amongst such persons as you know were active in that service, amongst whome in perticular wee preferr Mr. John Pettitt." . . .

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[1] This is, I find, the spelling used by Sir George himself, in numerous signatures which I have examined. I think Mr. Eastwick (see next page), who states that he spelt it *Oxindon*, perhaps had mistaken the old clerical *e* for *o*, as he easily might.

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In the old English cemetery at Surat is still to be seen "the pompous epitaph and grand mausoleum" of Sir George Oxinden, as well as the epitaph of his brother Christopher (see p. ccxxiii, *supra*). Both inscriptions (Latin) are given by Mr. E. B. Eastwick in Murray's *Bombay Handbook*, pp. 317-318.

SAMBROOKE, Sir JEREMY. With reference to note (1) at page cclxxviii, under this heading, it must be noted that (as I have recently seen) in the commission and instructions from the Company appointing Sir Edward Winter Agent, dated 20th January 1661, he is styled "*Knight and* Barronett".

TRENCHFEILD, RICHARD. It appears from a passage in a Court's letter to Bengal (18th Feby. 1690-91) that Mr. Trenchfeild had brought, or initiated, an action against Job Charnock and his colleagues for what they had written to the Court and entered in their consultation books about him.

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IV.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

No. 1.

THE original of the following document, which I print as the first of these miscellaneous papers, reached my hands after a great part of the preceding matter, including the biographical notice of Sir Streynsham Master, was in type. The original, which was kindly put at my disposal by the owner, the Rev. G. S. Master—to whom I have already been so much indebted—is a draft in the unquestionable handwriting of Sir Streynsham Master aforesaid. Though bearing no signature and no address, abounding as it does in corrections and interpolations in the same handwriting, it must have necessarily been his own composition; whilst some expressions seem to intimate that the person addressed was a member of the Court in Leadenhall Street. As Streynsham Master returned to England, after his early sojourn in Western India, in the summer of 1672, the date of the letter (Jany. 1671, *i.e.* N. S. 1672) implies that it must have been written when he was on the eve of departure for Europe.

The letter is creditable, both in knowledge and composition, to one who had left England when under sixteen years of age; though I confess to have been a little disappointed in its contents. Any narrative that should bring before us in lively detail the real life and occupations of the Company's servants in India during the reign of Charles II would be very interesting. But of such matter there is very little, and the testimony to their outward devotion and regularity in religious observance, on which the letter (as regards the Company's English servants) chiefly dwells, is certainly surprising. I should suppose that this was partly due to a survival of the strong Puritan influence of the preceding decades, which had not yet been obliterated by the laxer spirit of the Restoration. Currents of influence travelled but slowly then, communicated as they were, only by a few ships accomplishing once a year a tedious voyage, in comparison with their rapid speed now through the swift movement of innumerable passengers and letters, newspapers and electric messages.

It may be, too, that something is to be attributed to the personal bearing of Sir George Oxinden and Gerald Aungier, successive Presi-

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dents of Surat, whose periods of rule cover the whole interval between 1662 and 1677, for both were men of religious character. And something again may be due to Master's evident desire to controvert the impression, already prevalent in England, of the irregular and heathenish habits into which the Company's servants were supposed to fall, and to the probability that under this feeling he painted such matters as nearly of rose-colour as his conscience would permit.

No further introduction seems requisite.

"*A Letter from* SURATT *in* INDIA *giving an acco*[tt]*: of y*[e]*: Manners of y*[e]*:* ENGLISH *Factors &ca. their Way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Partes.*

"S[r]:

"When I was in ENGLAND with you it was your great fear and my doubt that the ENGLISH as well as other Christians in these Parts did not live agreeable to any Rule of Religion, therefore yourselfe and my other good friends were pleased often to charge me to have good heed that I did not forgett God nor be shaken in those Principles which I had been educated in by observing the Customes of the heathen INDIANS, or the loose and dissolute Behaviour of our owne People, nor be ensnared by the Subtile Insinuations of the Jesuits or other Romish Priests, which wholesome Counsell I thanke God I have hithertoo been very mindefull of, and that hath made me be more curious to observe the Manners of all sorts of People in these parts, by reason they have generally all of them an outward Show of Sanctity, that is soe as to Worship and adore one God Almighty and to be allwayes mindfull of Serving Him in their Way of Service; and for the Christians they keep themselves every one to the Religion and assemblies of their owne Nations, as the ENGLISH performe all their Publike Devotions in the Company's Factory house, where there is a Roome sett apart on Purpose in the manner of a chappell for Divine Worshipp. The Dutch have the like in their Companys house. The FRENCH and all of the Romish Persuasion Performe their Devotions at a Convent of the FRENCH Capicheins lately built, where they have alsoe a Chappell, and the ARMENIANS have a house, chappell and Priest maintained at their Common charge, and by all that I can observe the Christians doe live more comformable to all the Rules and Precepts of their Religion here then in Europe, for whereas some thinke that the Customes of the INDIANS is brutish and of such evill example to Christians that it is an occasion of their neglect of divine Worshipp, I rather find the contrary, for the severall sorts of the Indians are so strickt to the Rules of their Religion in keeping their sett times of Prayer and Fasting and other ceremonies, that it is a provocation to the Christians to doe the like in their way, soe that there is an emulation between the INDIANS and us, who shall serve God most and best.

"Now S[r]: by reason I presume it will be much to your content to know how and in what manner we performe the dutyes of Religion, I shall therefore proceed to give you a partiall account of the custome of the ENGLISH Church, Waving the DUTCH and ROMANIST and ARMENIAN as not being soe well acquainted with theirs as our owne.

"To begin methodically that I may soe go on. On board our Shipps in their voyages from England hither there is excellent orders kept for the Civill government of the Seamen and Passengers; the Commander Fixeth up publickly in the Steerage a Paper of orders, that all Persons shall come to Prayers Morn-

ing and Evening; None to be Drunke, to Swear, Lye, Quarrell &ca. and those that doe offend are either to Pay a Pecuniary Mulct or suffer Corporall punishment. Soe in the Shipp we had (have?) constantly Prayers Morning and Evening, on Sundays the Service of the Church and Sermons read forenoone and afternoone; and when there is a Minister in the Shipp there is the Sacrement administered commonly once in the voyage: if any Person be sick he is prayed for, if any Dye, Decent buryall is used: this custom on board Shipp is improved to a More excellent order and Method on Shoare at your Presidency in SURRATT as I shall here relate unto you.

"The Honble: Company in the yeare 1668 sent out a Printed Paper of Rules and orders to which they required Strickt observance and due Compliance, which therefore some called the Company's Commandements, because there are just 10 of them; this Paper is Publikely affixed in the house for the information of all Persons, which indeed are good and Pious directions, but there is noe Penalty sett upon the Breach of them, except in the greatest offences of open Debauchery and Prophanes, from which there is no hope of amendment in the Party guilty, and then such are by these orders required to be sent for ENGLAND, as unworthy to reside in a Christian Plantation; I say these Rules and orders of the Companys not requiring any Penalty for the breach of them, the President and Councell thought fitt to continue their owne orders which have been many yeares in the Factory, wherein Severe Penalties are required for omission of Prayer and Divine Service and Commission of any Debauchery, and these orders are much more sutable to the place and custome of the Country for the well Government of our People, then the others are. By these he that omitts Prayer on a Weeke day pays 2s: 6d: on a Sunday 5s: If any be Drunke or abuse the Natives they are to be sett at the gate in Irons all the day time, and all the Night be tyed to a Post in the house; If any lye out of the House, without leave of the President, he pays 40s: and these Penaltys are some of them, allmost as often inflicted, as the offences are Committed, Soe that by the Smart thereof and the good example of the President and Councell here is a most excellent govern'd Factory, indeed more like into a Colledge, Monasterie, or a house under Religious orders then any other, for We have much more Discourse of Religion, Philosophie, the government of the Passions and affections, and sometimes of history, then of trade and getting Mony for ourselves, though that allsoe be in noe manner neglected on the Companys behalfe, yet for our owne Particular I believe there is noe Marchants have less regard to it; and one principall reason for it is, because we are provided of things necessary at the Companys charge, and being at small expence, though our Wages be very little, we esteem our selves Provided for, and the future seems to us as the day of ones Death doth to Many, but small provision to be made for it. To return to my Promise S[r]: to give you account of our Religious acts; We have Prayers every Morning Before the Dores of the Factory are open, and every Night between 8 and 9 a Clock after the Dores are Shutt: upon Sundays we have twice in the day Solemn Service and Sermons Read or Preached, and Prayers at Night, this office is Performed by the President, and in case of his absence by the chiefe of the Councell or other next in the Factory if there be noe Minister (or *Padre* as we call them). If there be a Minister in the Factory then he performs his duty as in Churches in England, Catechizing the Youth on Sundays after evening Service, and administering the Sacrament the 3 great Festivals of the yeare, and sometimes oftener, Burying the Dead, And in these Dutys we are continually exercised, keeping stricktly to the Rules of the Church, and soe much as conveni-

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ently we can observing the times and days appointed for Feasts and Fasts. For upon the great Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide we have the solemn Service, Publike Feasts, and noe great busynes permitted to be done in the ffactory house, and all the Country People know why we are soe Solemn, and Feast, and are Merry, Soe allsoe for Gun Powder Treason day, and on the 29th of May For the Kings Birth and Returne. And upon the Principall Fasts we have very strickt Fasts kept, noe busyness done in the house, and the Publicke Prayers used upon the occasion, as in Lent, especially upon Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, the 30th of January for the Martyrdom of King CHARLES the First, and some persons there are, of which the President is one, that keep Weekly Fasts upon every Friday. Tho' our Fasts here are not as the Romanists and as our Church seems to Direct, abstinence from Flesh and eating of Fish, but a meane dyett, without distinction of meates; nay generally none untill night, but Prayers and retirement.

"In time of Warr or any eminent Danger or Common Calamity, as want of Rain &ca. we concerne ourselves as Mutuall Members, and Supplicators for the good of the Country, and make our Publike Prayers for good Assistance and Releife, and Keep such days of Fasting and Prayer for Gods blessing on our owne Country as we hear are appointed in England; and upon victory, good Success, or obtaining Releife, Returne Praise to the Allmighty for His Blessings; thus we Rejoyce with them that Rejoyce and weep with them that weep; if it please God to visit any of our fellow servants with Sickness or any other Malady or Mishap, I think there is noe place where more Christian Compassion and Charity is exercised for their Releife, whether it be for Distemper of Body, disquiet of Mind, or in Want and necessity, and truly in this particular the example and practice of the Natives in generall is very eminent, they being a very Compassionate People; if any be soe sick that he appeares to draw towards his end, if there be a Minister in the Factory he attends him with Prayer and administration of the Sacrament, others communicating with the sick; if there be noe *Padry* here, others of us Read and Pray with him; the manner of our Burying is soe Decent that the Natives (who are allsoe very decent in that Particular) though they may not come near a Dead Corps by reason they esteeme it a Polluting or defiling themselves, nay to some it is Pollution to see, hear, or Speake of a Corps, yet they will behold our Buryalls, and at the Funerall for S^r: GEORGE OXINDEN the Streets, Beloonys, and tops of the houses were soe full as they could stand one by another. At the Grave after the Corps is enterred, there is Mony throwne and given to the Poore People; and our Burying Place, which is large and spacious, is adorned with severall great and many handsome Tombs and Monuments, which many of the great Men of the Country esteem worth their Sight.

"Thus S^r: having acquainted you how we live and dye and in what manner we bury our Dead here in SURRATT, I shall now proceed to give you some small account of our Lives and Practices in other Places by Land and at Sea in these parts wherein I have been myselfe and soe can informe you by my own Experience.

"I have been up in our Inland ffactorys at BROACH and AHMADAVAD where we have had but very few together, 2 : 3 : 4 : and 5 : soe that for the most part for 5 : and 6 : months there hath been but 2 : of us in the Factory, the lowest in number to which our Saviour Promised His presence, and we have there constantly used Divine Service twice every Lords Day and read Sermons.

"I have been at sea in ENGLISH Shipps that have newly come out of ENGLAND,

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and in others that have stayed in the Country downe the Coast of INDIA and MALLABAR, and in those Shipps we have used the same Exercise of Divine Service as our Shipps doe in their Voyages out, as I have before rehearsed. I have been allsoe in our Factorys upon the Coast of INDIA, as at CARWARR and CALLECUTT, at MOCHA in the Redd Sea, at GOMBROON in PERSIA, and at BUSSORA at the Bottom of the PERSIAN Gulph, and in all these places we allways observed the Dutys of the Lords-day very solemnly, never doeing any Busynes upon that day but the performance of Divine Service, though upon other days for the most part the publike Prayers were omitted, by reason our Stay was but Short, busynes much, and the ffactory could not but be disturbed with the Concernes thereof, the Natives comeing and goeing at unseasonable and uncertain times.

"I have allsoe been at Sea in the vessells of the Country, where we have had but half a Dozen ENGLISH in a Shipp and all the Rest of the Shipps Company INDIANS called LASCARS, which have been 30: or 40: beside Passengers in a Shipp of 2: or 300: Tonn; But the English were Masters of the Shipp, that is at Sea, though Imployed by the Native INDIANS, MOORES and BANIANS, and in this Shipp or Jounke we had Prayers as Constant as in our owne Shipps, which we performed in the Roundhouse or Masters Cabbinn. And in neither of all those Places, either at Sea or on Shoare, doe the Natives give us any Disturbance in our Religious Exercises by Comeing among us for their Curiosity or other reason whatsoever; but the Dores of our Factory houses are generally Shut and all our Indian Servants sitt at or without the Dore, with the Porter all the time of Divine service, permitting noe persons to come in the interime. But INDIA is Inhabited with soe many Severall Nations of People, all exercising their owne way of Worshipp, that it is noe Strange thing to them to hear of People of a Different Religion from themselves; for they esteem none the worse for that reason; But say God Allmighty hath constituted many People and Nations in the World to be of divers Religions and to Serve him Severall Ways; as a Prince and great Man hath Many Servants of Severall Degrees and offices, but they all doe him Service, every one according to his office.

"And because I suppose it will be some divertisement to you I shall now give you a Short account of the Most Considerable Nations that Inhabitt this part of INDIA, for to enter upon an account of all would require a great volumne.

"GUZZARAT was formerly a Kingdome by itselfe, whereof AHMADAVAD is the Capitall Citty, and formerly the Seat of the King, being called after the Name of one of their Kings AHMAD; but the HINDOOS and Naturall INDIANS often call the Citty by the Name of the Province GUZZARATT, for it is now but a Province of the great MOGULLS Empire, and sometimes governed by a Prince one of the great MOGULLS sonns, sometimes by one of the Mau Rajaes[1] and sometimes by one of the great Umbraus, whose Residence is at Ahmadavad. But this Town of SURRATT is not under the government of AHMADAVAD, but a particular government under the MOGULL himselfe, who sends governours downe and gives particular Directions in the government.

"SHA JEHAUN, the MOGULLS ffather, gave the government and Revenue thereof to his Eldest Daughter BEAGHUM SABE, by reason it afforded many fine Rarietys brought hither by the great confluence of Strangers, but ORANZEEB the MOGULL now Raigning Keeps it in his owne Care. But to proceed to my Story. This Province or Part of INDIA is principally Inhabitted by 3: Nations or sorts

[1] I.e., *Mahárájás.*

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of People, that is the MOORES or Mahumedans, the HINDOOES, and PARSEES, of which I shall discourse distinctly and briefly.

"The MOORES or Mahumetans are those that generally have the Rule and Government of the Country, the MOGULL himselfe being a Mahometan of TARTAR Race from TAMERLANE, and the greatest part of the MOORES in these parts are such as came into this Country with that Conquest, though there be allsoe many of the Naturall INDIANS, even whole tribes that are turned Mahometans since the Conquest.

"The Great MOGULL ORANZEEB (as I have said) is a Mahumetan and a great precisian in his Religion, soe that he hath taken off all customes from the Mahometans and imposed 5 P. Cent. more on the HINDOOES than they formerly paid, besides he hath some Persecution against the HINDOOES &ca. since his comeing to the Crowne, and not soe much to punish them for the Profession of their owne Religion as to trap and ensnare and even force them to turne MOORS (that is to be circumcised, and then they [may] be what they will againe, for many of the HINDOOS that have turned MOORES Retaine many of their Idolatrous Customes) as is the Practice of the Mahometans in most Countrys, Contrary to all humane Reason, and I thinke to the Economy of all Religions in the World. It seems that some yeares if not ages since, I suppose about the time of the MOORES first Conquests, they were severe against the Idolatry of the HINDOOES, and sett a Poll Tax upon all the Family of INDIANS, which as I said made [many] of them turne MOORES, nor was any Pagod or Idolatrous Temple of the HINDOOES suffered to stand except the HINDOOES at their owne charge made a place for Prayer for the Mahometans adjoyning to the very walls of it, and if they did soe, then they might build new Pagods, but since those times, especially during the Raignes of JANGEER and SHA-JEHAUN, the HINDOOES were not at all molested in the exercise of their Religion, but were in ffavour and Preferred to the great and Meane offices of the Kingdome soe well as the MOORS; But this MOGULL who attained the Crowne by Hypocrisy and pretence of a great zelot hath proceeded otherwise with them, soe that Most of the Pagods are Demolished by the Tumultuous ways of the Rabble zelots, by his Countenance, not by his Direction and Command; the Mahumetans have allsoe since this Kings time been more zealous in their profession of their owne Religion then formerly; strong drinke being more forbid (according to the Rules of their Religion), their times of Prayer five times a day more frequented, and their aniversary months fast more stricktly kept. They are great Enemys to Idolatry, worshipping One God, and deny the Trinity, yet acknowledge our Saviour CHRIST to be a great Prophet and say He Prophesyed that MAHOMETT should be the last Prophet and Lawgiver, therefore they observe his Law. Their Sabbath is upon Fryday, upon which day (soe well formerly as now) nothing is done in the Kings Busynes, noe Payments or Receipts entered in his Bookes; But most other People will doe Busynes on that day soe well as others; Sunday being the Day of the Kings Coronation, is kept weekely with the Solemnity of the sound of Kettle Drums and Trumpetts &ca., in all his garrisons. Though the Mahometans in TURKEY and PERSIA will eat with the Christians yet these will not, nor eat what we touch, retaineing soe much of the custome of the INDIANS, who will not eat what the MOORS have touched. The Mahumetans Ramazan is a months fast in the yeare, which most of them keepe very stricktly, in this nature, they neither eat nor drinke all day so long as the Sunn is up, at night they refresh themselves, and he is looked upon amongst them as a very uncharitable and Covetous Man that does not Keep a better table then ordinary in that month, both for dyett and for (?), and in his bounty to the

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Poore. But those that all the rest of the yeare will drinke wine and Arracke very plentifully will not touch a drop that month, for they say 'tis a hard case if they cannot forbear it one month, and repent for their unlawfull use of it all the yeare beside. In the time of heats, for the month goeth by the moone round the seasons of the yeare, Aprill, May, and June, tis very troublesome, especially to the ordinary sort of People, to keep this fast, yet many of them doe it and yet will worke and travaile very hard without Drinking a drop of Water till Sunsett. Soe many days as they break fast in this month, they must Keep at some other time, when they best can. When this Lent of theirs is out the first day they Breake this ffast, they have a great Feast, or *Eed* as they call it; upon which day the governour attended by all the Officers, Souldyers, Marchants and Men of Note, dressed in their Best and Richest attire, with Elephants, Horses and Coaches, goe a Kind of a Procession out of the Towne to a Place for Prayer where they very Solemly say their Prayers and then returne in all their State againe, feasting and Sending Presents and Messes to one another that day. They have allsoe a great feast which they call *Buckery Eed*, being in memory of ABRAHAMS offering his Son ISHMAELL (they say) which allsoe is performed with great Solemnity by them. They doe use Circumcision (but doe) not circumcise their children on the eighth day but some times after they are more than so many yeares old, deferring only for a fitt season to have such friends at the ceremoniall as they desire, or till they have got mony to bear the charge, for that it is performed with great feasting.

"The Mahumetan Weddings are very Magnificent and Expensive, it would be to tedious to Relate you the particulars of such their ceremonies nor is it to my Purpose. They are very Decent in their Funeralls, which I suppose they borrowed of the primitive Christians, if not from the JEWS. They carry the head of the Corps foremost, their Preists goeing before in White raiment, singing laudable hyms in Responses, and all the Relations and friends follow close after to the grave; most of them have Tombs and Monuments built, according to their abilitys.!

"The Moores exercise all Professions and callings.

"Thus much for the Moores and Mahumetans.[1]

"Upon a great dearth or want of Raine, I have known the Governour of the Towne appoint a day for a generall fast and prayer for Raine, and then he and all the MOORS of Note in the Towne have gone a Procession Bare foote allmost a Mile out of Towne to a Saints Tomb, and there they have all ver[y] Solemnly said their Prayers and Returned, the very Cattle being allsoe forced to fast and not suffered to goe out of the Towne gates for some hours, neither to Feed nor Water, as we read in JONAH the King of NINEVEH did.

"The HINDOOES (soe called from the name of the Country HINDUSTANI) are the Naturall Inhabitants of the Country, of which there are so many Divers Sects and Familys or Tribes that it would require a great deale of time to describe them all to you. But I shall give you a breife account of the most Considerable Sects of them; 1st. The RASHBOOTS are the antient Princes, Gentlemen and Souldyers, of the Naturall INDIANS, of which there are many very Considerable Princes or Rajas at this day, who have large dominions of their owne not subject to the MOGULL, though most or all the Raja[s] themselves (except one called the Rana) are allsoe Servants to the Mogull and take his Pay, and soe are put into

[1] Here is an interlineation, the exact connection of which I cannot trace: 'And some other Feasts and Ceremonies which I shall not insist upon."

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great governments, as Raja Jeswien Sing was Governour of Ahmadavad and soe Commands all this Province; 2dly: there is the Bramans which are as the Levites among the Jews, the Priests to all the severall Sects of Indians, for there are of severall familys and orders among these Bramans; 3dly: the Banians, who are for the most part the Marchants, tradesmen, and Brokers; 4thly: the Gentooes, who are commonly the handy crafts Men, as Carpenters, Smiths, Taylors, Shoe Makers, Seamen, &ca.; 5thly: the Coolees, which are the Poore Country Peasants that Plough and Sow, and gather the Corne, but (God knows) the least Part for themselves, for they have only soe much as will Keep them and their familys alive, the greater part being for the King, and his Officers who are appointed to Watch and oversee every village.

"These are the Principall Tribes, or as (we) call them Casts of the Indians that Inhabitt Guzzuratt, and these are generally their Professions, but that severall of them are of one anothers and many of them of other professions then I have named, as there are Bramans that are Souldyers and Marchants soe well as Priests, and there are Banians that are Labourers, Handicraftsmen (and soe well as Marchants) and Curers of Herbes, and there are Weavers of all sects Moors, Hindooes and Persees. There are allsoe Cuttarees, another Sect Principally about Agra and those parts up the Country, who are as the Banian Gentooes here, and many of them are now mixt here abouts, but they being principally of another Province I have not Ranked them in this. But these 5 Sects differ much one from the other, and one in or amongst the others in their Divine Worshipps, only in this two particulars they all agree, 1st. they acknowledge God which they call Permisser to be the Supreame Creator and Governour of the World and all things in it, and 2dly. they are gross Idolaters and worshiping many inferiour Dietys and Representations, even all things in heaven, Earth, the Waters and things under the Earth and Waters, for surely never were such monsters seen above it (if there be any such underneath it?). In these things (and they have all a great esteem and Reverence for the Cow) I say they agree, But in their Ways of Worship they differ very much as I said one from another, and one amongst the others, for some have Temples or Pagods which others will not goe to, and some will goe to none at all, some goe upon long and chargeable Pilgrimages to one place, and some will not goe to that but as farr to another. Some there are that observe many Washings and Worshippings in the Rivers, and there are others that doe no such things, and thus they differ very much, Rashboote from Rashboote, Braman from Braman, and Banian from Banian &ca.

"The Rashboots will generally eat flesh of goates and henns and fish, and many of them drinke wine, but esteem a great and unpardonable offence to kill a Cow, or to eat any such flesh as Beefe or Veale; the Bramans many of them will Doe as the Rash bootes, but there be many of them that are allsoe very severe in their dyett and habitts, will eat noe thing that has had live in it, nor drinke wine or any Intoxicating thing, nay some there are that will not eat Corne because it hath the Seed in it Selfe, and will produce its like, soe that they feed only upon Milke, which they esteem the most Innocent of all foods, and for that reason have the Cow in Soe very great Reverence; there are Bramans and Priests of all Sects and Opinions, most of them are of the Stocke and Linnage of the Bramans, but there are some Priests that are of other Tribes, but have been Dedicated or made an offering to this Office by their Parents, and some out of their own voluntary will; and some of these abstaine from Marryage, as holding it unlawfull for them, and Shave their heads, and goe bare foote. All these Bramans or

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Priests performe the same office that the Priests doe in other Religions, that is they make their offerings to their Idolls, Pray for them, and Bless them, allsoe they Preach to them upon certaine times very good Morallity, such as none of the Antient Philosophers that I have read doe exceed them in, and truly their manner is much like to those old Philosophers, every sect preaching up their Doctrine for according to its Rudiments the perfection of humane Nature, and some pretend to be very knowing and expert therein, by which means their Pupills are much directed and governed by them in observing good and bad hours and days, which is allsoe much practised by the Mahumetans. The BANIANS with whome wee deale most, they being our Brokers, eat noe flesh nor any thing that has had life in it, nor garlike nor onyons, and Drinke noe Wine nor Strong Drinke, so that they are generally very wary and Considerative and Cunning People, and soe they have need be, for they are great Traders, and very Rich, and have nothing to support themselves in their Reputation and honour but their Riches, which they are allsoe put to it to preserve by their Witts. For they are alltogether a Passive and Suffering People, and against all the many violent Assaults that are made upon them have noe other defence then their Witts and that Interest which their money makes, and for which only they know they are soe often Pecked at. Begging your Patience I shall relate you a story or two which may give you some satisfaction of the wisdome and opinion of these People.

"There was a great man and Governour who once, discoursing of Religion, Demanded of the Chiefe BANIAN in the Towne which Religion he thought was the true and best? The BANIAN replyed he could not tell, but, says the Governour, which in your opinion? whereupon the BANIAN Paused (doubting some designe upon him); S^r: sayeth he, if you will please to give me some days to consider of it, I will tell you my opinion. The Governour gave him soe much time as he desired, in which intrime the BANIAN had many thoughts how to avoyde any (?) the Prince Governour might ensnare him into by his answear, at last the time being expired he was resolved of his answear and went to the Prince Governour to deliver it; Well S^r: says the Prince, I hope you have brought me an answear now; Yes S^r: Replyed the BANIAN, pray Pardon it, here it is, setting downe before him a Round Earthen Pott like a Globe, with Lines drawne upon it from the Bottom all centering in the Top. The Prince asked what that meant. S^r: said the BANIAN, this Pott may Represent to you the world and the People or Inhabitants therein, and these Lines drawne upon it are to signify the Severall Religions and ways that there are to goe to heaven, Some goeing one way Some another, but all meet in Heaven. By which subtile answear the Prince was well pleased, and could take no advantage on it.

"There was once a Rich BANIAN attending at a Princes Court, and the Prince asking him a very ordinary question, how far it was from the towne to the next, the BANIAN fearing some designe upon him, avoyded answearing possitively, but put it about to other standers by, wherupon the Prince, perceiving his feare and craft, redoubled the question upon him in hast, which the standers by hearing, one of them answeared the question aloud, and possitive, and the BANIAN presently upon it replyed, You have heard what that person says.

"Another story hapned lately here. There was about the yeare 1663 as I remember a Commission sent out of the Court of Chancery for Examination of Witnesses in India upon a Sute of Law between S^r: Geo: Oxinden and others wherein some of the BANIANS could give good evidence, wherefore when the

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Commission came to be exercised the BANIANS were produced to give in their evidence, and thereupon the Parties whome their evidence would have prejudiced put Cross interrogatories to them to Invalid their evidence according to the Laws in ENGLAND, little thinking the BANIANS were soe little confined in their opinions as they are, for they asked them whether they Believed in God and in His Son JESUS CHRIST, and whether they believed the Holy Gospell of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST to be true, to all which they presently answeared they did Believe, and said, there was noe difference between the ENGLISH Religion and theirs, only the ENGLISH killed Cows and eat fflesh which they did not doe: They were allsoe asked whether they would swear (according to their Custome by laying their hands on a Cow or a Calfes head) that they did believe in God and JESUS CHRIST and his Gospell, and soe all the articles of the Apostles Creed, the which they said they would doe; for they said their Religion taught them that JESUS CHRIST was the Son of God, and they believed the ENGLISH Religion to be true; this S^r: I say passed here in the yeare 1663; the BANIANS being very eminent and intelligent Persons, by name BIMGEE PARRACK, the Honble: Company's Broker, and his Brother CULLEAN PARRACK[1]... We have often times discoursed with these Persons and severall others of the BANIANS that come to our house about matters of Religion; when we tell them of the grossnes of their Idolatary, and the great Errours in their Religion, and shew them the Excellency of the Christian Religion, to which they answear us that their BRAMANS doe allsoe teach them all those vertues which we say our Religion doth, as humility, Patience, Temperance, Chastity, Charity, yea and Forgiveness of offences, and for their Idolatry they say they doe not worship those Images and Idolls which we see, as we thinke they doe, for they know and believe they are noe gods, But only Representations and Remembrances, for God they say is a more excellent being then to abide in a Temple or under a Tree, but those Images are there placed that they may the better direct their Worshipp to the Diety, they doe believe, they say, our Religion to be very good, only we eat fflesh, which they cannot approve of; and We answear them to that, that they may be very good Christians and yet never eat any flesh and Drinke noe Wine; for the Christian Religion gives the greatest liberty they can desire in meates and drinkes, only Requires Temperance, that we abuse not our Selves nor the Creatures by Gluttony and drunkenness, but noe Christian will require them to eat fflesh or alter their habits to prove they profess that Religion, for those are things we esteem indifferent and of noe moment, and so they keep close to the Faith, and observe the Waityer matters of the Law, Justice, Mercy, and Truth.

"In such discourse as this sometimes we drive them soe farr that they deny not but are allmost perswaded to be Christians, but for the Shame of Turning, and the difficulty of bringing all their Family over, or leaving them; which indeed are great difficultys, when the Applause of men is more Sought for then the Praise of God.

"The GENTOOES which I ranke as the 4th Sort of Hindooes are part of the RASHBOOTES and part of the BANIAN opinions. Some of them will and some of them will not eat fflesh and Fish, but none of them will eat the Flesh of Cows, and Oxen or Calves, and almost as few of them forbear wine, for those that eat noe Flesh will Gulch aboundance of strong drink,[2] according to the

[1] See p. cli, *note*.

[2] This is worthy of notice in face of the common allegation that the English excise system introduced the taste for strong drink.

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practice of most People of their Profession in all Countrys,[1] these being generally Mechanicks are of more Rustick nature and grosser Idolaters then those before spoken of, yet not so bad as the 5th Sort, the Coolies, who are the most abject People of all INDIA, and the most to be Pittyed, for they are generall Vassals and Slaves in all Countrys and under all Governments; let them run from one to another they are still the same, but tillers of the ground, kept in the greatest Slavery and allowed but soe much Sustenance as will keep them alive, and that cannot be denyed them, because the ground would not be sowed nor tilled without them. They may be called HINDOOES because they are of the antient Inhabitants of the Country and have a Reverence for the Cow, but otherwise they make noe Distinction of Meats and drinks. Some indeed there are of the better sort of Farmers that are a little nice and will not eat with the MOORES or Christians; they are most gross Idolaters, many of them Wisards and Witches, and the Devill hath a very large Dominion amongst them, as they themselves will confess. When we travell up and downe the Country where we meet those People, our Servants will not suffer them to stand by to see us eat, for they say they have an evill eye, and will cause the meat to turne in the Stomach, soe that a Man Shall vomitt it all up, and his owne Blood and life with it, and this our owne People, the ENGLISH, have seen; and [I] have been told by an eye Witness that he with others being once a Travelling in the Country they came to a Small village where under some trees they stayed to dress some victualls, which being ready they satt downe to eat, at which Instant there passed by them [a] Coolee Woman, who, casting an ugly Squint upon their meat, which was hens and Rice, &ca., said don't you eat of that, and soe passed along on her way, at which they being hungry reasoned with themselves whether they should eat it or not, but concluded to forbear, and took it all and buryed it in a hole they dug in the ground, and stayed to provide and dress some more, which, taking up some time,

[1] "These HINDOOES doe none of them keepe any Sabbath, but some of them, espetially the BRAMANS and BANIANS, fast some of the Eleaventh, some the 14th day of the Moone, which fasts are observed by abstaining from eating bread or butter or anything dressed or boyled, eating only fruits, Sweetmeats, or raw milke &ca. They have allsoe in August and September a more peculiar time for fasting and Prayer in the nature of our Lent, which is very severely observed by some, Soe that they will not receive any Sustenance, or Stir from their place of prayer for some days and weekes. There [are] such strange votaries amongst them as is very Strange; men that vow for some yeares never to lye or sit downe, that will not hold their hands from off their heads because they will not imploy them in any evill, and many Marchants that leave off all worldly busynes and keepe themselves wholy to their divine worships. In October they begin their yeare with great feasting, Jollity, Sending Presents to all they have any busynes with, which time is called *Dually*, and in Feb. or March they have a feast as the Romanists called Carnival, the Indians *Whoolye*, when they doe all manner of mad Pranks, and so on. They are very Curious in their Meates, they wash their bodyes from top to toe before they eat, and sitt upon the bare ground, or a flower of Cows dung, with only a clout about them when they eat any Boyled Corne, or feast one another, but fruite or Sweetmeats they will eat without these ceremonies."

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when they had better preserved themselves from such evill eys and eaten it, one of the Company said he would see what became of the meat they had buryed; Soe be went and uncovered it, and he found it all turned to Blood, whereupon he called his Company and they all observed it with admiration; from one of them I had this story.

"Having been longer then I thought to be upon the HINDOOES I shall now proceed to the PARSEES and be more breife in my account of them.

"The PARSEES are the antient Inhabitants of PERSIA, from whence those that now Inhabit here abouts fled, at Such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 yeares since. Then severall of those PARSEES resolving to suffer and undergoe any hardships rather then Submitt to Mahomett and his Followers Imbarqued themselves and their familys in a few slight built vessells of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between SURRATT and DAMAN about 12 or 13 miles from SURATT, near the same place where the first ENGLISH Ship that arrived in India was allsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the INDIANS not used to such guests, yet being as oblidging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the *Sun*, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe tearmed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not Kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or there abouts, to which the Poore PARSEES soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called NAUSARREE, or by the English NUNSAREE, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about SURRATT, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a PARSEE was raised to great honour in the Court by JANGIER this MOGULLS grandfather. At the said place of NAUSAREE thear Cheif Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out, They Keepe it soe constantly supplyed; they had a Church in SURRATT; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott MOORS destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the HINDOOES. They have severall buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide feilds, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

"These People are of a different Shape and complection from all other People that ever I sawe in the World; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to-Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them have adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for Fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let it extinguish for want of matter; they worship and acknowledge one God Allmighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the sun they doe adore, and they give this Reason for it; that God Allmighty told them by their first Prophett that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto Him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures

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in the World, soe that it gives them life and light; therefore they say they worship it.

"President AUNGIER, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from MOSES. They say according to these Prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be Restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended.

"Having given you a particular account of the Religion and Practice of the Inhabitants of GUZZARATT farr exceeding the leaves of Paper I thought the Relation thereof would have taken up; I shall adventure to trespass a little farther on your Patience and give you a Small account of our Island of BOMBAY, where I now am, and according to the little time I have had to informe myselfe of this I desire you would measure the imperfect account I am able to render of it.

"BOMBAY is an Island lying upon the Coast of India in about 18 degrees North Latitude; 'twas given to the King of ENGLAND in Dowry with Queen KATHERINE the Daughter of PORTUGALL, anno 1662. But not delivered to the English untill anno 1668; and in 1668 his Majesty was pleased to give it to the East India Company by reason of some ill government. Since it hath been in the possession of the ENGLISH both under the King and Company it hath not flourished or Increased in Commerce soe much as it might otherwise have done, and tis hoped will hereafter doe, and by reason there are other Islands lye between the Maine land and this, espetially one called SALSETT upon which the PORTUGALS have a notable Pass called TANNAH, by which noe Vessell can pass into the adjacent River and Maine, but by their Permission, for which they exact intollerable dutys, soe that the Comerce between this Island and the Neighbour Country of DECAN is thereby wholy Impeded, therefore the only way to bring Trade to it and to make it famous must be by Sea, which is very facill, only a little and but a little Expensive at the first; whereof I shall not insist here, Presuming the President (who is Governour of BOMBAY) and Councill have represented the matter more effectually to the Company.

"BOMBAY is Inhabited by all the severall Nations or Sects of People I have before mentioned. Here is MAHUMETANS, and a place where they say one of the Saints of their Religion was buryed, to which many come in Pilgrimage and doe homage at the grave; here is HINDOOES of all Sorts and a place to which they goe to pay their Devotions, esteeming it sacred and antient; here is allsoe some PARSEES, but they are lately come since the ENGLISH had the Island, and are most of them Weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their Devotion in or to Bury their Dead. But the greatest and the ruling part for some yeares past (that is since the PORTUGALLS have had it) is that of the Christians, the PORTUGEZ haveing erected 5: very fair and large Churches, and divided the Island into soe many Parishes, though God knows the major Part of these Christians are very little Different from the HINDOOES or naturall INDIANS, and understand as little of Christian Religion; for they goe by the name of Rice Christians, that is those that profes and owne the Name of Christianity for Sustenance only, being a most miserable poore People, and kept in horrible Slavery, Subjection, and Ignorance. But though since we have had the Island their yoke is much eased, and they seem to be desireous of knowing our

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Religion, to the Propagation whereof on this Island a fair feild seems to be laid open, and how farr it may spread from hence God knoweth, who may increase into the Courts of all these Eastern Princes and the Bowells of the Neighbour Countrys, if He have such Mercy in Stoare for soe meeke, gentiele and charitable a people. And if we were supplyed with able, sober, and orthodox and grave divines for the Ministry, there is great hopes of success. But the Company were (in our Judgment) much mistaken in those two sent out anno 1669 for this worke, one of them to preach and the other to teach a free Schoole, who were both soe very averse to all things taught and used by the Church of ENGLAND, that instead of making new Proselits, they had lost many of our owne People, who refused to come to heare them, claiming the same liberty and priviledge which they very roughly and indiscreetly blobbed out to have themselves, that they would not hear the Common Prayer or Soe much as come into the place where it or the Lords Prayer, Apostles Creed, or Ten Commandments were said, directly contrary to the Honble: Companys Laws which were sent out the same yeare they came, wherein they require that in Publique the Kings Majestie, the Peace, Happines and Prosperity of his Kingdomes, and the good and wellfare of the ENGLISH East India Company be prayed for, and every Sunday the Apostles Creed, or some times in place thereof *Athanasius* Creed, and the Ten Commandments, or the Summary thereof out of the 24 Chap. of ST. MATTHEW 37, 38, 39 and 40, ver. be read,—these people, I say, were soe farr from observing this order of the Company that neither of them could be prevailed with at any time to read the Apostles Creed, nay or to say the Lords Prayer, which though the Companys Laws require it not, yet we thought as good and necessary as the other things it doth require. But one of them would some times, tho' a long time first, and that very rarely, would read one of the Chapters where the 10 Commandments was, and some times where the Lords Prayer was, but the other of them never would or did to his Death. And when they marryed any they did it in a strange manner, making the marryed Sweare before God and the Congregation or Company present, which the Souldyers made very ill use of; and because they would not bury the Dead many of them were highly offended, and indeed all their ways were new and soe contrary to the Custome and Education, and humour of the generallity there that it gave great offense and occasion of much debate, that not only the PORTUGEZ, to whose Priests, who are generally too well learned for such of our Ministers, these things were very novall and strange, but allsoe the Natives would enquire what Class or Sect of ENGLISHMEN they were, and to make the busynes worst, there was a Souldyer that came out that yeare allsoe, who pretended the light of the Spiritt, which moved him to Preach, and he had sometimes Delivered his Doctrine in Publicke among them, offering to Dispute it with any of the two Ministers, that he was as lawfully sent to Preach the Gospell as they were. But the Deputy Governour did not thinke it convenient to let him have the like liberty, and therefore tooke hold of him and clapt him in Prison, where after a short time he came to a soberer understanding.

"To conclude this paragraph of BOMBAY, I say we here upon the place doe find that men of this New Straine of opinion and learning are not at all fitt to plant the Gospell here; for it must needs be that they will be disliked of the generallity of the ENGLISH, which must certainely much divide and distract the opinions of new Proselites. And the humour of these People, nay I thinke the air of these Climates, doth much incline to the old orthodox Doctrine and

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episcopall government, for we find generally those of that persuasion are not soe positive and dogmaticall but more moderate and charitable (a virtue very agreeable to these People), and better learned, espetially in the antient Fathers, and Soe more able to hold a sound argument against the ROMISH Priests then those of the other Persuasions.

"I shall not trouble you with more at present, having, I doubt, too much trespassed on you allready; if you thinke this discourse may give satisfaction to any of the Company or Committee, who we hear, and by some passages have reason to beleive soe, are of opinion we that live here are men of noe conscience or honesty, bringing noe Religion with us on this side the Cape, if you thinke it may be satisfactory to them, or others concerned in the Trade, or for their Relations in these parts, I leave it wholy to your selfe to shew as your wisdome shall thinke fitt, reserving such part as Treats of particular concernes, &ca.

"S^r: yours, &ca.

"BOMBAY, January 18: 1671" (*i.e.* N.S. 1672).

No. 2.

MORALS OF CALCUTTA.

This fragment in the India Office Records (O.C. 7526) is itself without date, and has the endorsement: "*Extract of* Mr. ADAMS's *letter, Chaplain at* CALCUTTA."

It gives a very different picture of the morals and manners of the Company's servants at Calcutta, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, from what Streynsham Master has given of his friends at Surat thirty years earlier, in the letter that has just been presented to the reader.

The lapse of time may have made a change for the worse, and probably had done so in Western India, but considering what we have gathered as to the Bengal factories from numerous extracts given in the preceding pages of this volume, it is hardly unjust to believe that the *morale* among these from early days was low.

BENJAMIN ADAMS, Minister, appears in a MS. list of Company's servants on the Bengal establishment of 1701-2, as having arrived 6th June 1700. The next list preserved is of 1706, and in that his name does not appear. In the Court's Letter to BENGAL of 18th Dec. 1699, his nomination is thus announced:

"With our President EYRE, Mr. BENJAMIN ADAMS now takes his Passage as our chaplain at the usuall allowance of ffifty pounds P. annum Salary and ffifty pounds Gratuity; he is recommended to us for a Sober, Virtuous, learned Man, and We hope will fully answer his character. He brings with him a very handsome Collection of modern books as an addition to the Library, presented by a Worthy Gentleman WILLIAM HEWER, Esqr.,[1] a member of our Court of

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[1] Originally the servant, and for many years the faithful friend, of Mr. Pepys.

Committees. They are put up in a Press with a Catalogue fixed to the Inside Door, Copy of which is enclosed, all of them are lettered on the Back, and have an account of the Gift on the outside cover of each book; take great Care of their good usage and preservation."

The fragment is as follows:

"The Missionary Clergy abroad live under great discouragement and disadvantage with regard to the easie and successfull discharge of their important Office. For, to say nothing of the ill treatment they meet with on all hands, resulting sometimes from the Opposition of their Chiefs, who have no other Notion of Chaplains, but that they are the Companyes Servants, sent abroad to act for, under, and by them, upon all occasions; and sometimes from the perverseness and refractoriness of others; 'tis observable, that it is not in their power to act but by Legal Process upon any emergent Occasion, when Instances of Notorious Wickedness present themselves; And because that can't conveniently be had at so great a distance, hence it comes to pass, that they must suffer silently, being incapacitated to right themselves upon any Injury or Indignity offer'd, or (which is much worse) to vindicate the Honour of our Holy Religion and Lawes from the encroachments of Libertinism and Prophaneness.

"This every body knows, and that knowledge is constant ground for Licentiousness and ill manners, to those especially whose dissoluteness prompts them to level both Persons and Things, when that may serve to the gratifying of their own extravagant and wild Humour and Interest.

"Were the Injuryes and Indignities small and trivial, and such as as in time by a competent care and prudence might either be avoided or redrest, a man would choose to bear them with patience, rather than give himself the trouble of representing them to Superiors. But notorious Crimes had need be notoriously represented, or the Infection would grow too strong and epidemical.

"For what, for instance, can any man say to that Incestuous as well as Adulterous Marriage of S^r: NICHOLAS WYETT, President for Affairs of the New Company at SURATT, with his Neece, at a time when he expected his own Lady by the next Shipping?[1] Or to that other Adulterous Marriage of W^m: WARREN, Surgeon to the Factory at CALCUTTA, with ELIZABETH BINNS a Widow there, tho' admonished, advis'd, and caution'd to the Contrary, when She and every body that knew Mr. WARREN, knew also that he was marryed to another woman, who would have come out to him, if he had had a mind to it? But it seems that the obligations of Marriage, or anything else, are of little Consideration with Mr. WARREN, being a man of most pernicious Principles and debaucht Manners.[2]

"I might Instance in several things of this Nature which occur daily to the

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[1] This scandalous affair of Sir Nicholas Waite is referred to by Governor T. Pitt in a letter to President Colt at Surat, dated August 25th, 1701 (B. M. Add. MSS. 22,843, No. 95):

"I wonder not at the Incestious nuptialls of S^r: NICHOLAS, who came of a race that never stuck at any thing. The Company did write us that he was sent for home, if soe 'tis an additional comfort to his marryage."

[2] "WILLIAM WARREN, Chirurgeon", appears in the list for 1701-2 already referred to. In that of Dec. 1706, he is said to have "laid down the service" since the preceding year.

great Scandal of our Christian Profession among other Europeans, not to mention how easily the more strict and reserv'd among the Heathens may reproach us in that particular Enormity, which I have been speaking of."

In Court's Letter to BENGAL of 20th December 1699, I find:

"If Doctor WARREN be an Industrious honest able man, We leave it to you to make his Sallary up to 36*l*. pr. annum. We have not heard from his Wife as yet, but when ever she desires it, We will give her leave to come over to him on our Shipping."

No. 3.

DR. BULKLEY, NATURALIST.

I print the following as the only indication I have yet come upon, among the Records, of a student of Nature. "EDWARD BULKLEY, Chirurgeon", appears in a list of servants at Fort St. George in 1701-2, but with no other particulars. He had, however, been in the service there since about 1691-2, for the Court write in a letter to Fort St. George, of 16th April 1697, finding fault with the maintenance of two chirurgeons at the Fort, whereas one only was intended to be permanent:

"When we understood Mr. HEATHFIELD was dead . . . . we resolved to supply you as soon, and as well as we could, and accordingly sent you five or six years since Mr. BULKELEY, one who was every way very fitly qualified to serve us, by his large experience of INDIA, as well as here, and as fit for prescribing Phisick as Manuall Operation," etc.

And in their letter of 28th October 1698 they write:

"If it be a favour to Dr. BULKELY to be a Justice of the Peace you may commissionate him thereunto, he being we doubt not capable and honest."

The Court, also, in a letter of 20th Decr. 1699, recognise BULKLEY'S good deserts, and allow him an augmentation of 30 pagodas a year towards his house-rent. But his own letter here given is subsequent, and asks for the remainder of his house-rent. He continues as surgeon till 1708. In the following year he ceases to appear as surgeon, but the same person (apparently) is entered as "Land Customer", and 6th of Council; in 1710 as Storekeeper and 7th of Council; in 1711 and 1712 as Paymaster and 5th of Council; then he appears no more. Mr. CHARLES DUBOIS was for many years a member of the Court of the Old Company.

From EDWARD BULKLEY, *Chirurgeon on the Establishment of* FORT ST. GEORGE, *to* Mr. CHARLES DUBOIS, Merchant, LONDON.[1]

"Honourd S^r:

"I have allready wrote to you by this ship which letter goes in your Packett, this goes per Mr. RICHARD CHADSLEY Surgeon of the *Gosfright*, by whom I have sent you 5 volumes of plants—they are most of them such as grow

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[1] O.C. 7880.

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near this place, most of which you will receive from your Brother better done: 4 of the Books have a Catalogue of their names in Malabar, the 5th hath not the names inserted, being putt up in hast; there is allso 2 parcells of Seeds, all newe and fresh, divers of which I hope may growe with you, there is allso a PEGU goord and a glass jarr with 2 sorts of fruit in pickle, the larger, called *Shegada* in Mallabar and *Avagooda* in Gentue, appears very strange and uncommon within as you will find upon cutting.[1] The smaller is called *Punnooe* in Mallabar and Gentue. I did designe a further collection by the *Bedford*, but am hindered by the trouble the MOORS has given us of late, of which you will have a full account in your Generall. The pretence is Satisfaction for the Pyracyes committed on their shipping which have been divers, I believe the unbecoming behaviour and Expressions of those belonging to the Newe Company have contributed much to the mischiefe we feele and fear, I pray God direct you to some speedy redress of the greivances your trade labours under, which are truly very great; in my other letter is an Invoyce of such Medicines as will be proper to be sent out, for this Garrison especially. During my abode here, I have sent divers Invoyces, but never yet had a chest putt up thereto conforming, but left to the discretion of the Apothecary who can not be a competent Judge, otherwise then as directed: I humbly request that you will cause my Invoyce to be made use of when any order passes for the putting up of medicines for this place. I did in my former letters request your favour towards the procuring the remainder of my House rent, which is 20 pagodies more than all ready allowed, the smallness and scantiness of the Hospitall has occasion'd the charge of my adjoyning House, which is not large or stately (such affectation being farr from me) but only such as necessity and decency may require,[2] and as large allowed in other places with another priviledge which I could never yet obtein, otherwise then at my own charge, viz.: Pallankeen hire, it is allowed Mr. WARREN the Surgeon in BENGALL, and also the surgeon of BOMBAY, and I can not tell why it should not be allowed here, I being obliged to attend at all hours, even in the greatest heats and allso flux of Rain, and that many times, to places Remote from the Garrison, the smallness of my Sallary (being less than the surgeons of the smallest ships) obliges me to request some additional kindness and is no more then what others have, I hope it will not seem amiss or unreasonable.

"I submitt my Selfe S^r: to your discretion and disposall, I believe Capt. BROMWELL will be ready to joyn with you in any thing you shall thinke fitt to propose on my behalfe; I shall be glad by all opportunityes to receive your commands who am

"S^r your most Humble and much obliged Servant

"EDWD: BULKLEY.

"FORT ST. GEORGE
"feb: 28th: 170½."

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[1] *Avagooda*, according to Forbes-Watson's *List*, is *Trichosanthes palmata*, Roxb. I cannot trace *Punnooe*.

[2] We read in C. Lockyer's book, already quoted in note at p. cclxix: "The Hospital joins the New-House by the Water-Gate to the Northward is a long Building, and has a Piazza with a Paved court before it; at one end of the Court is the Plaister-Room, and at the other, an Apothecary's Shop; *where the Medicines are prepared after the Prescriptions of the ingenious* Dr. B——y" etc. (p. 21).

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No. 4.

Cyclone Wave at Masulipatam.

This brief narrative is marked O.C. 4663, and was transmitted in a long letter from Surat Council to the *Court*, dated Swally Marine, 24th Jany. 1679-80 (O.C. 4691), which says (para. 96):

"... could heartily wish we were able to give you by this conveighance an accompt how things are with your Servants at Metchlepatam, and on that Coast, there having happened in October last a most dreadfull Storme and Inundation in those parts, as you may be pleased to read in an inclosed Paper received from Mr. Cholmley at the Diamond Mines ..."

The *Imperial Gazetteer*, under Masulipatam, notices "the storm wave of 1864 which swept over the entire town, and is reported to have destroyed 30,000 lives. As happens not unfrequently, this disaster occurred at night, so that many were drowned in their beds. Even in the European quarter the survivors owed their lives to being warned in time from the fort, so that they were able to escape to the upper storeys of their houses. A similar calamity is traditionally related to have befallen the place in the days of Dutch occupation."[1] Doubtless this tradition refers to the storm wave of 1679, reported in our present extract. There is a mere mention of this "terrible inundation", and the damage suffered by the Dutch Company, in *Valentijn* (V. 66), who refers for full particulars to the work of "*Heer Havart.*"[2]

"*A Narrative of the Inundation that happened at* Metchlepatam *on the Coast of* Chormandell *in* India."

"The Storme began on Monday the 13th October 1679, held all that day and at ten of the clock at night blew with such violence from the Eastward that it brought the sea into the towne; which flowed so fast that in a quarter of an houre, it was covered with water Man's height; and so soaked the foundations of the houses that the winds easily overturned them, and the waters carried away about halfe the Towne.

"The highest and strongest houses have escaped indifferently, and amongst them the English ffactory; nothing of the Dutch standing save the posts, and the house the Cheif lived in, they have lost 200 bales of cloth, besides other goods, and some perticular persons to the amount of 2000 and 3000 Pag^s: Goodra (the usual residence of the Governor) carried clear away, and himself

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[1] Similar catastrophes have occurred on that coast, also at Coringa, *c.* 1706 and in 1787, and from Vizagapatam to Nursapore in 1839 (Morris's *Godaveri District*, pp. 52, 254, 290).

[2] This book, *Op-en Ondergang van* Coromandel, etc., *door* Daniel Havart, Med. Doct., Amsterdam, 1693 (sm. 4to.), is in the B. M. Library. In vol. ii, p. 196, commences a letter from a friend of the author who was present, giving a detailed account of the disaster.

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drowned, three ships in the Road lost, and all the Boates in this place either staved or drove away, abundance of people ruined, and to the number of 15000 (as near as can be guessed) drowned, it reached to most of the adjacent Townes and swept them clear away; about 4 the next morning the wind abated, and the water began to fall and shrinke within their old bounds, which had it continued but a small time longer had together with the Towne destroyed all the persons living in METCHLEPATAM."

The endorsement: "Rec'd. per Bengala, 4th July 1680."

No. 5.

CERTAIN PAPERS WRITTEN BY, OR CONNECTED WITH, HENRY GARY.

Of this Mr. (or Captain) Gary some brief account has been given at p. clxxiv, *supra*. I have more recently found that he came out first as factor attached to the ship *John* in 1645. He subsequently held a great variety of employments. In 1656 he was on the Surat establishment with a salary of £100, but was then discharged, with many others, to reduce expenses. Bombay, of which he was at this time Deputy Governor, was not transferred to the Company till 1668. The present preposterous proclamation was issued by him in support of Sir Edward Winter's violent proceedings at Madras (*supra*, p. cclxxvii), under what influence I cannot say.

"*By the honoble:* HENRY GARY *Esqr. Deputy Governor of his Majesties garrison and Island of* BOMBAIM, *with all and singular its Forts, Castles, territories, jurisdictions, etc.: Commander in Cheif of all his Majesties forces which at present are in* INDIA, *or which hereafter shalbe imployed there for his Majesties service during his Majesties pleasure:*[1]

"Whereas I am certainly informed that there are divers of his Majesties Subjects belonging to FORT ST. GEORGE under the Command of the Rt: Worshipfull Sr: EDWARD WINTER Knt: Barronet etc., Mutinous and disaffecting persons to his Majesties Government there and elsewhere, and amongst the rest Mr. GEORGE FOXCROFT formerly Agent at said place for the English EAST INDIA Company, NATH: FOXCROFT his son and Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOK, now Prisoners in said Fort for treasonable words and practises against his sacred Majesty, and that the said Mutinous and disaffecting Persons have attempted to have attached, apprehended and secured the Person of the said Sr: EDWARD WINTER together with Mr. BENJAMIN CLAPTON, who was secured and kept close prisoner in METCHLEPATAM by Mr. Wm. JEARSEY chiefe of that place, for the said English EAST INDIA Company, being sent thether by the said Sr: EDWARD WINTER to deliver a protest (made in his Majesties name) against the said Mr. JEARSEY for intercepting and detaining his Majesties Letters and others his Majesties Subjects, and also have conspired and endeavoured the releasement and inlargement of the said prisoners contrary to the Lawes of peace of our Soveraigne Lord the King. These are therefore in the Kings

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[1] O.C. 3219.

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Majesties name straight to charge and command all and every of you that you unanimously concur, agree, and consent to the keeping and detayning the said Mr. GEORGE FOXCROFT, NATHANIEL FOXCROFT and Mr. JEREMY SAMBROOKE prisoners till Shipping present for their transportation for ENGLAND, or his Majestie having certaine information of the case be pleased otherwise to dispose of them, and also that for the future you forbeare and desist from all manner of seizure of the person of the said S^r: EDWARD WINTER or any other of his Majesties Loyall Subjects there, or any of their estate or estates, but henceforth honour and respect the said S^r: EDWARD WINTER as Governor of the said FORT ST. GEORGE, not presumeing to act or speake anything against his Majesties power, authority or Government there, or in any wise hinder, impeade or molest the same and keepe the just and Lawfull orders and commands of him the said S^r: EDWARD WINTER in order to his Majesties affaires as Loyall, faithfull and obedient Subjects ought to doe as you will answer your contempt at your utmost peril.

"Given under my hand and Seale at his majesties Fort and garrison of BOMBAIM this 8th day of August *Anno Domini* 1667.

"To all his Majesties Subjects of GREAT BRITTAIN of what degree or quality soever resideing in FORT ST. GEORGE, and to all others his majesties Subjects in the Oriental INDIES and to every of them."

Against this precious document Mr. Foxcroft writes a letter of protest to Mr. Gary, dated 8th October 1667. It appears to have been introduced by a copy of Gary's proclamation, and then "*To* Mr. HENRY GARY, *Deputy Governour in* BOMBAIM".[1]

"Worshipfull S^r:

"The above written is copy of a paper published in the Church to all the ENGLISH in the place and was afterwards posted up in the *Corps du Guard*, and pretended to come from yourselfe as author thereof, but when I consider what a bundle of follies, impertinences, exorbitant and Ridiculous Commands are contained therein, it cannot enter into my beliefe that such a peece should be the product of the Wisdome of a person that may assume or be worthy to be graced with so ample and honourable Titles as I finde in the front thereof, but rather to be the invention and contrivance of S^r: EDWARD WINTER (whose Image it bears though he affixes your name to it) being wholly calculated to the Maridian of his owne security, against his Murder, Blood, Mutiny, and Robbery, being Conscious of his owne guilt and in feare of a just punishment as the deserved issue of his violent and treacherous usurpation of the honourable Companys Fort and Authority (from which they ejected him) and Estate of which he hath fellinously robbed them since the usurpation, as well as he had before palpably defrauded them of vast sums of money, and this though done in darkness he found was come into soe clear light that he could no longer hide it". . . . .

And so on at great length, ending with a recapitulation of the powers, etc., anew conferred upon the writer by the Company, and concluding:

"I write not these things in a vain glorying in my Tytles, but for a friendly

[1] O.C. 3221.

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Caution to you not to intangle nor intytle your selfe to the damage of the Honourable Company or their unlawfully Imprisoned servants, which this Paper, were it yours, would involve you in, of which I hope you are not guilty, and under this beliefe I take leave to subscribe my selfe

"Your friend and Servant."

The following is a sample of Gary's reply, dated "*From his Majesty's Fort and Garrison of* BOMBAIM, June the 8th, 1668".[1]

"Mr. FOXCROFT

"I received the 30th March by the hands of Mr. JOSEPH HYNMERS from GOA your ——— I know not what to call it, for it surpasses immodestly the limits of a Letter, and is extravagant in the License of a Libel. If you know not of what spirit you are yourself, how blinded with the thick and noysome foggs of your passion, yet I and others doe, and so being acquainted with the principalls and sentiments of your heart, out of the abundance whereof your fowle mouth speaks I wonder not at that your sordid language, and dirty dyalect, that is the true Sibboleth of a person of your party. Your stile is as rampant now as it hath been rumpant formerly, the truth is it bespeaks you to be one of these *Bombarda-gladios-fun-hasta-flammiloquentes*",[2] etc., etc.

Letter of Mr. HENRY GARY *to the Company.*[3]

Dated, "Bombay the $\frac{16}{26}$ Jan: 167$\frac{7}{8}$.

"Honble: Right Worshipfull, Worshipfull, &ca.

"I addressed unto your Honours &ca: a few Lines by the *Successe* and *Scipio Affricanus*, but having more time afforded me than I expected in this Juncture of Affaires, I thought it but necessary (as in Duty bound) to present you with such Newes to your Intelligence for your Divertisement, as my Correspondence brought unto mine.

"SEVAGEE RAJA carried on by an Ambitious Desire to be fam'd A Mighty Conqueror, left RAIRI[4] his strongest hold in the Kingdome of CUNCAN, at the latter end of the last faire Montzoone, and Marched with his army consisting of 20,000 Horse and 40,000 foote into CARNATEEK, where the TELINGAS have Two of the strongest holds in these Parts called CHINDI, (and) CHINDAWER,[5] where many Merchants are considerable Inhabitants, and with a Successe as happy as CAESARS in Spaine, he came, saw, and reported soe vast a Treasure in Gold, Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, and Wrought Corall, that have strengthened his armes with very able Sinewes to prosecute his further Victorious designes. Hee is at present

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1 O.C. 3219.

2 *Sic.* It is taken from a copy, and probably made unintelligible by the transcribers. I suppose it a quotation from some macaronic poem.

3 O.C. 4314.

4 Ráhírí (see *Elliot*, vii, 289), the RAIREE of Grant Duff, and of Dr. Fryer, a hill fort among the Northern Ghats, 65 miles S.E. of Bombay, which was long the residence of Sivaji, who changed its name to RAIGARH, by which it is now known.

5 Chindi = *Chenji*, commonly called *Gingee* in Orme, etc.; Chindawer = *Tanjore*.

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before BANCA, PORE.[1] Two other very strong *Ghurrs* or Rocks, which soe soone as he hath taken in (being noe lesse dexterous thereat than ALEXANDER the GREAT was, for by the Agility of his winged men (him Selfe terming them Birds) he tooke in lesse than 8 months time from the MOGULL, which he had delivered up to his than Generall RAJA JESSING,[2] 23 inaccessible ones, resolves against VIJAPORE, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of DECCAN propinque to them; and being become master thereof, has vowed to his Pagod, never to sheath his sword till he has reached DILLY, and shutt up ORANGSHA in it. MORA PUNT, one of his Generalls, hath also of late plundered TRIIMBECK, NASSER, and other considerable places within the Mogulls Territoryes which hath added much to his Treasure.[3]

"By the *Advice* Pinke which arrived at this your Celebrated Port on ffriday last the 4th Currant in Two months time from CHINA with Copper, very opportunely to supply your Mint house, I gathered from her Comander JOHN NICHOLSON, That the Tartars had regained in that Mighty Empire, what COXONS Son[4] (now King of ILHA FFERMOSA) had taken from them, caused through his unvigilancy and Libinous liveing, which lulled him so much in Pleasure that he utterly neglected to provide for his Souldiers Pay, for want of which they mutining gave advantage to his Enemy and caused his Ruine.

"I Humbly conceive that your Honours &ca: have already heard of the untimely Death of Sultan MAHAMUD, eldest son to ORANGSHA, poysoned by an Eunuch through his Brother SULTAN MAHAZUM's Contrivance and Comand who aspires at the Diadem of HINDOSTAN, as indeed both SULTAN AZUM and ECKBAR, his Brothers, doe the same.[5] The PATANS a Warlike Nation bordering upon the MOGULLS Dominions gives often Allarmes to his Army, and hath killed him many men of late. SHASTACKAUN,[6] the Kings Unkle, is marched from BENGALA with a very formidable Army to invade the Kingdome of ARCAN, with orders from his Nephew to advance as far as PEGU, and conquer it; that is if he can? But 'tis feared by some of the more Politique, that he will in the Enterprise confirme the SPANISH Proverbs *La Codicia rompe il Sacco* and *Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde.* Itt is credibly reported that the said Omra's Treasurer imports 40 *Corors* of Rupees, besides vast Sumes of Gold in *Mores* or *Sunnies*[7] and Jewells, and that it is much more than the King has at present in

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[1] These I cannot identify; they ought to be near Bíjapúr.

[2] Jai Singh, Rájá of Amber or Jaipúr, was a general of great repute in the service of Aurangzib. Concerning the forts see *Grant Duff*, vol. i, chap. vi.

[3] Moro Pant was Sivaji's Peshwa, and one of his most prominent Captains. Nasser is, no doubt, a mistake for *Násik*. *Trimbak* is a place of Hindú pilgrimage near the springs of the Godaveri, 20 miles S.W. of Násik.

[4] "Coxon" is presumably the *Coxinga* of the Dutch, the pirate conqueror of Formosa.

[5] Mahommed Sultán, the eldest son of Aurangzib; Mahommed Mu'azzam Sháh 'Alam, the second son; Mohammed A'zam, third son; Akbar, the fourth (see *Elliot*, vii, 195-6).

[6] Shaístah Khán, long Nawáb of Bengal, of whom we have heard mnch in Hedges' *Diary*.

[7] I don't know what *sunni* is, unless a pagoda; qu. a form of *hun*? *Sunnā* is given as the Deccani form of (Hind.) *sonā*, gold.

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his *Cazanna.*[1] BAHAUDUR CHAUN,[2] the Kings ffoster Brother, who remayned in DECCAN many Yeares, attending SEVAGEES Motion, but effected little materiall against him, by reason of being corrupted by him, feeding frequently his most insatiable avarice with Gold, was about 4 months since sent for up to Court. Reported either to be called to a strict Account or bee made *Diwan*, which latter I rather believe, the King having ever had an extraordinary Kindnesse for him. But as I was actually writeing of this an *Aviso* came from Court, that ORANGSHA had not only divested him of all his Titles and Honours, and ejected him of his favour, but likewise deprived him of all his Treasure (which was very considerable) and comanded him to goe a Pilgrimage to MECA and MEDINA. In his Roome was sent DELLEL CKAN[3] a stout PATAN Omra, yet notwithstanding he joyned his Army with BULLEL CKAN his Countryman, who hath the Young King of VIJAPORE in his power, under pretence of being his Protector (which the DECCANIES will by no means endure, but have him in their owne) gave them Battell in the which they Received a very considerable overthrow, the DECCANIES being the farr better Souldiers and better mounted.

"The HOLLANDERS keep up their Reputation still here in INDIA especially amongst the PORTUGUEZES, for having been soe well beaten by them not careing to heare of the FFRENCHES Victory in Europe, and seeme to have an absolute antipathy to that Nation; about the breaking up of the last Raines there arrived at SURRAT Rivers mouth 5 stout shipps sent from BATAVIA and COLUMBO to meet with FFRENCH ships they supposed might bee sent to these Northerne parts from FFRANCE, but theire expectations were ffrustrated, for there came not soe much as a boat from thence this Montzoone, which makes them very low, and are faine to use many Arts and ffineses to pacify theire Creditors, who are very Clamorous, *Faire bonne mine au mauvais jeu.* Little of that prosperity hath the FFRENCH Company Experimented which theire King expressed in the Motto he gave them to put to their Armes, FLOREBO QUOCUNQUE FERAR.

"The Arabs of MASCATT have lately taken in the Road of CONG a shipp belonging to CALLIAN, a Port in SEVAGEES Dominions a little above TANNA, which wore ENGLISH Colours, and had an ENGLISH Captain to bee Comander, One WILLIAM MAY, who lent her Owners 10,000 *Rups:* on Bottomarie, he being then on shore when they surprised her. It is very much feared if they bee not suppressed (which ought to bee done with some sentiment of Honour) they will become Worse than either the WADDELLS[4] or MALABAR PIRATES, having now lying at the BABS[5] 4 shipps to intercept PORTUGUESE (which made the Vizo Rey prohibitt them going to MOCHA) and such other Vessells upon whome they can make the least Pretence. . . . .

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[1] *Khazána,* "Treasury".

[2] See *Elliot*, vii, 265.

[3] Doubtless *Diler Khán*, an eminent officer of Aurangzíb in the Deccan, and Abúl Karím *Bahlol Khán*, respecting whom see *Grant Duff*, i, chap. viii, p. 186, *note* (Bombay edition, 1863); and Fryer's *Travels*, pp. 147, 169.

[4] The *Vádhels* were a class of Rájpúts associated with the Vágher pirates of Dwárka in Káthiáwár. A. Hamilton speaks of the *Warrel* plunderers at the south-east of that peninsula, probably the same tribe.

[5] A name (probably English sea-slang) given to the Island of Perim, in the Straits of Babelmandel

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"If I have any waies exceeded by my advisall, I humbly beseech your Honours &ca. to Pardon

"Honble: Rt: Worshipfull: Worshipful, &ca:

"Your most faithfull, most humble, and most

"obedient servant

"H. Gary."

The following curious certificate to Gary's Protestantism appears in the India Records without context (O.C. 4713). We have found him again in communication with Sir Thomas Grantham at the time of the Bombay Mutiny of 1683-4 (*supra*, p. clxxiv). I have not come upon any later notice of Gary, but I have made no special search.

"These are to certifie whome it may concerne that whereas the Worshipfull Henry Gary Judge of the Island of Bombay hath been reported and accused to be a Roman Catholick; wee whose names are subscribed doe declare that wee doe believe him to be much injured and have great Reasone to thinck him to be a Good Protestant according to the Church of England haveing given such signall Testimonies thereof, Pr. his often Expressing his abhorrency to, and detestation of the abominable Superstition and Idolatry of the Church of Rome; Pr. his free contribution towards the building our Church in Bombay; Pr. his constant frequenting the public service; and Especially Pr. his comunicating with most of us the Holy Eucharist. Wittness our hands this 1 day of January 1680" (*i.e.*, 1681).

"John France	"Jno: Childe
"Peachie Watson *Cler:*	"Mansell Smith
"Isaac Polwhele *Cler:*	"Fran^cs Day
(*etc.*)	"J. Hornigold"
	(*etc.*)

(33 Signatures in all.)

No. 6.

Pulo Condore.

These papers are connected with the settlement of a factory of the New (English) East India Company on that island—a favourite scheme of Allen Catchpoole (see pp. cx-cxii), who established it in June 1702, and perished miserably, with the settlement which he had founded, on the night of 2nd-3rd March 1705.

The first paper (A) is a report to the Court of the Company on the island by Mr. Catchpoole himself.[1] His idea seems to have been to attract the Chinese traders thither, where the China trade might be carried on without the constant interruptions and vexations to which it was subjected in the ports of China.

(B)[2] is a letter from Mr. Ambrose Baldwyn, the chaplain, and one of

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[1] O.C. 8188.

[2] O.C. 8439.

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the few eventual survivors. For, as will be seen from Mr. Cuninghame's second letter, there was a second massacre which swept away most of those who had survived the first.

(C)[1] is the letter of instructions given to Mr. Baldwyn by Mr. Cuninghame and other gentlemen of the settlement when they despatched him to announce the disaster and seek assistance.

(D).[2] A second letter from Mr. Cuninghame to the same persons, written from Ding-moy on the mainland.

(E).[3] A detail of the persons who were killed, and of those who escaped in the first massacre.

(A.)

"May it please you "CONDORE the 8th July 1703.

"Most Honoured Sirs.

"Haveing bin here now above four months I believe it my duty to give your honours an account of this Island; the best I am able from my own observations and what I could possibly learn from others, and this being the product of spare hours whilest no shipp was here, I will not in this mention anything to your honours but what perticularly relaites to this your honours Island.

"It lys at the enterance into the Bay of SYAM neare to the CAMBOJAN and CHAMPA shoars, being as by Mr. HENRY SMITH'S account thence: 30 leagues from the mouth of the river DINGMOY (or new province) which is a little to the Eastward of CAMBOJA river: These CONDORE Islands also ly between the paralels of about: 8°: 36′: and 8°: 47′. N. Lattitude; But our ffort on the Maine Island lys by very nice observation in the Lattd: of 8°: 41′. N.

"The Maine or bigest Island runs NEt and SWt about 12 miles in length, and about 4m: in breadth, in its broadest part; It has thirteen other Islands lying round about it (as your Hono's will see in the draught, which I presume to send your Honours herewith), two of which are about 3 mile long and one broad: two are about a mile each way over: and two are about three quarters of a mile over: the other seven are very small. One of them is a bare rock lying about 15. miles Eastward of our fort; from which the inhabitants tell us they procure the birds nests, which are in these parts esteemed so great a restorative: The rest of the small Islands are woody and produce little or nothing; But on the great or Maine Island are two or three large plains. The best and bigest is that where we are settled and the only one where the COCHIN CHINAS inhabit, it contains by esteemation Two thousand Acres of ground.

"We have Timber trees everywhere in great plenty, many of them strait, large and tall; generally very hard, and of a close grain, some like Lignum Vitæ, others like Ebbony and other like Box. The Timber of the Dammar Tree (mentioned by Capt: DAMPIER) as to its graine very much resembles ENGLISH Elme but its heavyer. It seems to be very propper for building of shipps, especially those parts which must lie under water, for it has bin observed here that when other woods under water have been eaten by the worms, this has never bin touched, by reason (as may be believed) of that gummy juice with which it soe much abounds. And our Carpenter here tells me, the best time to fell

[1] O.C. 8341. [2] O.C. 8358. [3] O.C. 8339.

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these trees is when the sapp is up: And yet we observe the inhabitants make their prows (or boats) with another sort of wood, which is also very heavy, probably because this is not easily cut into planks, espetially before it be very well dryed; for the gummyness soe clogs the saw, that 'tis very laborious to cut. With the juice of these trees drawn (as Capt: DAMPIER describes) the inhabitants make Dammers (or Torches) to use in their houses, and to goe a fishing on the Rocks. I have not seen any other use they put it to, and for that a little serves them. It much decays the tree, and altho it looks green and flourishing without, yet they rot within, and about the holes which are cut for drawing: and this rotteness about the holes has bin a great ease to our people in clearing the ground, for when we have cut a little round, the waite of the tree above, and the rotteness below makes it fall much sooner than could be expected.

"The wood of the wild Nutmeg tree is the lightest of any we have, the graine of it resembles that of ENGLISH Beach, it generally grows straight, it is proper for severall uses in building, as also for oars and small topmasts: But the best wood we have for yards and topmasts, is a tree which grows up to a considerable heigth, and then sends forth branches from which comes other branches, long and slender, bending downwards till they enter the ground and take root (as the tree does in Bengal vulgarly[1] called the Banian tree). The wood of this when dryed is very light and tougher than ENGLISH Ash; whilest it is green it may easely be cut into anything, but when it is dry, tis difficult to make it answer the tool, or to cut it smooth, the grain of it being soe extreamly cross, haveing one part running thwarting, or counter to the other. There are severall other sorts of trees which grow like this, but their wood is heavyer and does not grow soe regularly, strait and tall, before they branch out.

"We have another sort of wood also very like in graine and toughness to English Ash, soe that this Island is rather overstocked with wood and Timber, very fit for all kind of uses except masts for ships, but I question not but we have many trees which in case of necessity would serve for that also: there being severall sorts besides the before mentioned which we have not as yet tasted (as the Carpenters call it).

"As to the fruit trees here are sundry sorts growing wilde: I think the Mangoes doe not by any means come up to Capt: DAMPIERS account of them, for their season being towards the latter end of the dry time, and the trees growing on sides of hills, and in loose hollows, and they want(ing) that nourishing moisture which is requisite to their due maturity, they are much short of those in BENGALL, but I believe if they were managed with a propper cultivation they might become equall to those of other countrys, and I believe the same of many other fruits growing here, soe that with all submission I wish your honours would think good to send an extraordinary good gardiner to reside here.

"The Wild Nutmeg tree grows very strait and round, but seldome exceeds a foot, and never a foot and a halfe Diamiter; the fruit exactly resembles the true Nutmeg, having an outside coate, as thick as that on a Walnut, within this rind is the Mace incircling a thinn shell which incloses the nut. The Mace is not within the shell (as Capt: DAMPIER I think says). The nut has a rough harsh and hot taste, and some of them seem to have a little spicey smell and taste; We have killed wilde pigeons with severall of them in their craws: Doubtless could some grafts of the true Nutmeg be brought hither, these by inoculation or grafting might be improved, and I am inclined to believe, by a right and seasonabe

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[1] In orig. transcript "vougarly".

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graffting or inoculating one on the other, it might bring them to the spiceyness. An artist in such cases, I againe humbly commend to your Honours consideration, which would be no less serviceable on the wilde grapes which we have here, in all respects like the true, as to its fruit, its growing in clusters on the trees, the leaves of the tree, and also the tree itselfe, which runs up and clings to other trees, or else spreads upon the ground where there is none to support it. The fruit never comes to perfection for want of cultivation, but is very much like our English sower grapes before they are ripe; in tarts &c. they are every whit as good as English green goosberrys.

"The wilde grape mentioned by Capt: DAMPIER is of another kind and indeed here are two different fruits which will nearly answer his description,[1] for they both there grow in clusters out of the bodys and limbs of strait trees of about a foot in Diamiter, they are both of a kind of a winey taste, not much unlike grapes before they are ripe, but one of them is biger, and the other less then our ENGLISH grapes: the lesser when ripe is red on one side and a yellowish white on the other, it has a stone in the middle, and but little substance about it, altogeather like a blasted cherry. The other is biger than a large musket bullet, of a greenish colour before tis ripe but then turns yellow: within this outside rind, which is pretty thick and soft, is the fruit, being three or four cloves inclosed in a thinn skinn, haveing in the midle a kernell between which skinn and kernell is the substance of the fruit, which is as juicy as the true grape. Some of these are redish when the outward rind is taken off, but they are generally white. Lemonade or Punch made with this juice is better than those made with Limes, Lemons or their juices, for it has a much more pleasant wineish flavour. Experience teaches they are of an asstringent nature.

"The wilde Mangosteen and two or three other sorts of fruits growing here are in shape and make much like the affore mentioned, consisting of cloves included in an outward soft rind, each clove haveing a kernel in the midle: Their juice is more thick and clammy than that foregoing, and are about the bigness of a BURGOMY pear. Some of these fruits altho' pleasant enough by nature, yet they want the improvements of an artist, which I cannot too often humbly recommend to your honours to supply us with.

"The Arek nut (vulgarly called Beetlenut) is here very small, there are many of them, espetially on MONKS Island, but they seldome come to full maturity. The Inhabitants are very fond of those that come from CAMBOJA, which are as good as those in BENGALL and other places; but the inhabitants often make use of a certaine root of a tree instead of the Areknut; which has likewise a rough and hard taste, and being chewed with leaves and chenam, it makes the mouth and spittle red as the other does, and may have as much vertue, but is not so sweet, and is used only out of meer necessity.

"The Beetle leafe grows wilde here, and is as good as that in BENGAL, where they keep a great stir about it. They have in BENGALL gardens of it fenced round, into which they will let none enter that has any wound or sore upon them, nor a woman at any time, and yet here it grows on the hills and in the valleys without any care, and as good as ever I eat in BENGALL, where the custome of it amounts to vast summs. I have bin told, in DACCA only it amounts to five lack of Rupees p. annum.

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[1] These two fruits seem to be, the first *Pierardia dulcis*, Jack. (*Baccaurea dulcis*, Müll., *Rambeh* of the Malays); the second a species of *Lansium* (*Langseh* of the Malays).

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"We have here the Plantaine tree in all perticulars like those in other places, and they are on almost every one of the Islands, but neither doe these come to perfection, growing ripe before they have the due fullness; they are full of black hard seeds, soe that one may be rather said to take the smell and taste of them, which is very good, than to eat of them.

"Here is also a wilde lime, but its very small, and not fit for use; doubtless it might be brought to good. The Island will beare them, for two trees which Mr. HENRY SMITH sent me from DINGMOY grow very well.

"The red peper so much used in almost all INDIAN pickles grows here in great plenty; its a quick grower and may be increased to what quantitys wee please. Neare a small village of the inhabitants there is a feild or two of cotton trees, doubtless formerly planted, but now I doe not see that they take any care to improve them, or indeed take any notice of them; the Island may be made to produce what quantitys your honours think good.

"Bamboes are very plenty here, but they are not soe big nor soe strong as in BENGALL, but on MONKS Island and on BEETLENUT Island they are fitt for any common sort of Building.

"We have here a large sort of Rattan with which the inhabitants make shrouds and cables for their boats, but are soe cunning that as yet they will not let us see where they grow. As to the flower trees there are severall sorts; some smell very fragrant, and here are many trees that have leaves of an Aromatick smell.

"We have here the Meyrtle, which is not much vnlike those in England, only much bigger.

"The Islands being for the most part sandy, and over run with shrubbs and over shadowed with trees, doe not produce any Variety of plants or herbs. On this maine (or bigest Island) grows Pursline, Mint, wilde Marjerum and wilde time. The inhabitants sow Onions, Cowcumbers, Goards, Millions, Pompkins, Patatoes, Rice and Maze (or Indian corne), all which the ground brings forth very plenty fully, with very little trouble; which is something to be wondered at, that these trees and fruits should flourish in a dry loose sand, of which the plains doe generally consist, but at first sight some looks like a black fat mould, but is not soe, as soon appears by drying some of it in the sunn. Att the roots or bottoms of some of the hills there is a good stiff blew clay, some of which within halfe a mile of the ffort we have tryed, and it makes very good bricks and tyles, but as yet we are too few people to go on with that, Espetially till we have cleared the ground about us and cut paths in the Island.

"The land animals are Monkeys, Squirrills, severall kinds of Lizzards and Snakes, Scorpions, Centipees, &c. We have never seen a wilde hogg on any of the Islands, except some that wee set ashoar on our arrivall last yeare, which are now become wilde, and on CATCHPOOLES Island there is a breed of them which have endured the last dry time without any reliefe, soe will doubtless in a yeare or two become vastly numerous. The monkeys are like the common ones of other places. The Squirrils are of three sorts; the first are white, inclining to yellow on their bellys and insides of their legges, but the rest of them is black all over. The second sort, or midle sized, are all over very black and the furr is very fine. I carried two of them last year to CHINA, and the CHINESE commended them extremely, and desired me to bring a quantity of them, but the inhabitants are soe used to their old track, and so very lasey, that I have not this year been able to procure any. The third sort is the least; its a very small flying squirrill, haveing a flapp of his own propper skinn extended on each side

from the fore to the hinder legg, which when he leaps serves him almost as wings, carrying him a great distance: his taile is something like a fine feather, haveing no hairs on the uper or under parts, but only on the two sides, he has white under his belly, and of a fox couller all along his back, and black mixt with these on his sides.

"As for the animals of the Lizzard kind the first is the Alligator, of which the Inhabitants say there are some few, but I have not seen one here. The second is the animal mentioned by Capt: DAMPIER to be like the Guano, here are a great many of these of severall sizes; we have killed severall of 11. 12. and thirteen foot in length, and as big as a man about the middle, the slaves brought from BATAVIA eat them, and when skinned &c^a. their flesh looks very well; the slaves say there are many of them on JAVA Island, and the PORTUGUEZ call them *Odumbas;* we have not found they are any ways hurtfull, save that they often kill our fouls and eat them. Other Lizzards are very numerous, of the common ordinary sizes, tho' different species, but I will only trouble your honours with an account of the Tockaie, whose head, mouth and eyes are biger than the common Lizzard, his skinn is spotted with black and red spots; some say a lickquer which comes from him is very venimous, but I have not seen any prooff of that, but I have runn my sword threw one (alive) severall times and blood never came from him, but at distant spaces that afore mentioned lickquer has fallen from him; he makes a noise like some human voice pronouncing the word *Tockaie*, four or five times, sometimes six, but very seldome seven times togeather, and then is silent. An acco^t of this Lizzard or Tockaie, as also the figure of him, is in Pere TACHARDS voyage to SYAM.

"We have snakes of five or six different sorts, some are blew, others yellow, others differently speckled; they are generally very slender and long in respect of their bigness, five and six foot is an ordinary length, but the bigest and longest I have yet mett with was thirteen foot and a halfe long and but seven inches and a halfe round the bigest place, he was taken with a Duck in his mouth, which being rescued from his jaws soon dyed, whither from the venom or the bite is not certaine. I had him skinned and his belly opened, wherein were the leggs, wings and bones of another Duck, his skinn was chequered with variety of coullers. The inhabitants tell us that only the yellow snake is venimous and that where he bites it is certain death. The scorpions and centipees are not numerous, nor anything that I can percieve different from those in other places, the former are small, and perhaps only what were brought in our things from CHINA, but the latter are of a large size.

"I shall not presume to trouble your Honours with an account of the insects of this island, only of one, it being a great curiosity, and none of us have ever seen such before: it is a small slender worme, about three inches in length, much resembling a centipee only slenderer, and its leggs are shorter, smaller and much more numerous; where ever he creeped or moved in the night he left behind him a traine of light like a bright fire, which would also stick to his fingers and hands that but touch it, and stick thereon some time, and yet when brought to the light there apeared no manner of unctious moisture about him; by seeing and touching this in the darke, were it not for its motion, no one could distinguish it from the Chymicall preparation in our surgery chest called Phosporus. The first we ever saw fell on my forehead, which I wyped of with my hand, but it was very surprizing to see the light on my hand and forehead, and on my clothes where it fell, but it does no harm in the least.

"The wilde cocks and hens are in good plenty, which certainly came originally from a tame breed, they being in couller and bigness, &c. much like the small sort

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called CHAMPORES,[1] severall of which we have had brought us from CAMBOJA. We have two sorts of wilde pigeons here, the bigest sort are white, with some few black feathers in their wings and tails; the lesser sort are blew, about the bigness of those we have in our Dovehouses in England; both kinds are very good, and plentyer than powder and shot.

"Among the singing birds that which in BENGALL is called the Minaw is the only one that comes within my knowledge, but here are severall sorts of small birds.

"We have also Batts of all sizes, some as bigg as a large kite; we have no kites or crows on this Island.

"As to the fishery the Islands here (I believe) are inferiour to none, to none indeed that ever I have seen. The green Turtle is large, very good, and I think excells that of ASSENTION; its soe plentyfull in the season of May and June, that the shoars are all strawed with Turtle by the inhabitants, over and above what they carry home to eat, for the chief end of their catching them is, for the thinn Tortoiseshell on their backs, which they take of; they lay fire on them to doe it, and leave the bodys on the shoar halfe dead, excepting some small parcell they carry to their houses; these thinn shells they carry or send to COCHINCHINA and sell them there (they have told me) for sixty or seventy *pellys* each turtles shell. The COCHIN-CHINESE put a round peice of it (of four or five inches diamiter) on the midle of the outside of their basket hatts, but I cannot learne they have any other use for them. We have thornbacks here, with severall other sorts of the Raia kind; here are in great plenty very fine SPANISH Mackerell, Soles, Turbits, Mullets, Bonitas, Albacores, Daulphins, Paumphlets, and divers sorts of Rock fish, and an innumerable many other sorts of scaley fish very good, which none here have seen in other places. Also we have great store of oysters, cockles, crabbs and lobsters, but this last I think is rather to be called the Sea Crawfish, for they have not the two great claws of the Lobster, but differ in nothing else, being full as good: I have weighed one alive of four pound and three quarter lb. pound averdps: and I have bought sixty one of common sizes for three quarters of a SPANISH Dollrs: there is hardly a day passes, but the inhabitants bring some new sort of fish.

"In the valley where our ffort is (and in some other places), are a few pools of standing fresh water, which continue all the dry season, out of which we have had very good Eles and several other good fish.

"This yeare of 1703 has proved a very dry one, and the rains are soe backward, that on the 10 of July there was not one running fresh water, and I am told by the LIAMPOS people who were here the 15 June 1702 that the Rivelets in all places run with fresh water flush into the sea. On the 28th June 1702 we arrived here, and then found such runnings of fresh water that one would think a month or twos raine would not produce the like. Running fresh water of January to June or May (which is the dry season) is the only thing wanting, but other fresh water is always to be had very good. In any of the Valleys wells may be made with a very little trouble; in some places they need not digg above two yeards; ours in the ffort is not above sixteen or seventeen foot deep, and very good water, bears soap and answers in all things, but being in sand and wanting artists, it needs clearing once a month.

"As to our ffort it may seem by the draught sent your Honors by the *Macklessfield* Galley to be much otherwise than it really is, for as yet it can hardly

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[1] The Bantam fowl (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v. Bantam).

deserve the name of a ffort, it is only an inclosure made with two ranges of stakes, with hurdles fastened to them and in some places filled with sand. The stakes are about six foot high, made of wilde Arektrees; and indeed it cant as yet be expected it should be otherwise considering the few of our hands, and amongst those we have only one carpenter, and altho' he be a good and a laborious man yet hee is pretty well in years: As for Mr. RAY who came out for a bricklayer, he knows nothing of it, not so much as how to handle a Trowell. Carpenters, Bricklayers, and a Smith or two are the only artificers we want, and I humbly recommend to your Honours to supply us with bricklayers, and Carpenters or Sawers, the last of which can work the gross work of a carpenter; had we these Artificers and a few slaves more, I doubt not but we should soon build your Honours a good ffort here, with Store Houses, Warehouses and all things necessary to it. This whole Island and especially this valley is a loose sand, soe that there is no thoughts of stone walls, for it would take up a vast time and charge to make the foundation, which would require to bee extrordinarily well pyled, and the stones here are soe hard that a common tool will not touch them. The method which at present (by a generall consent and advice) we propose is, to raise two ranges of timbers, the one distant from the other the thickness of the wall, and to bind these with cross girders, and to line them on the insides with CHINA deals, CONDORE planks, or the wilde betlenut or Arek nut trees split in two (which are very easily done, and are strong enough for this purpose), then to fill it all up with sand, by which a good ditch will also be made round the new ffort; and lastly, to run up a thinn coate of brick on each side. The Timber worke is to keep in the sand from bursting out on either side, and if in time it should grow rotten, the sand ere that will (we believe) be soe well settled that it will not have any force or weight on the side brick walls. This we imagine will be done much sooner and easier and with much less expence than any other way. I am of opinion it cannot this way cost your Honours a thousand pound sterling, besides the expence of about tenn bricklayers and as many Carpenters or Sawers, for the greater part of this worke may be done by slaves and others who are not mecanicks, for the maine of this worke is to be done by any that can endure labour.

"The inhabitants are COCHIN CHINAS, and I estimate of men, women and children not above a hundred; they are idle, lazey people, and I believe they come over hither only to live at ease, and (away) from under Government. I cannot find they carry anything from hence to the maine, but some of the before mentioned Tortoisshell and about twelve or fourteen new Prows a year which they build, being very sorry vessels, sowed together. We can't find they bring anything as yet from the main; but we heare its well Stored with provisions: which we expect will come with Mr. SMITH, &c., in larger quantitys than we need. The only labour the inhabitants doe is sowing Rice, maze, &c., once a yeare, and fishing, and now and then makeing a new boate or repairing an old one. They all live in our valley, in three small villages—the farthest within two miles of the fort. In each village one is Superior, or a sort of a governing mandarin to the rest, but if anything extraordinary happens, they all meet, and if they can't determine it, the mater is referred to the Governor of Dingmoy, and the concerned sent to him by the very first opertunity. They seem to be a good natured people, and they bring us fish, fouls, and every thing the Island affords, which at first they would truck, fresh water only for rice. Soon after they desired *pellys* or CHINA cash, but they are already become very well acquainted with SPANISH Dollars, yet they never weigh them, and take anything that looks round

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and white, but they will not take any that are cutt. They are not shy of their women, but yet they are not soe free neither as some have reported, and we have certainly the greater respect for not medling with them.

"I recon (on the whole) the Island is very healthy,—certainly it is one of the coolest places in the world that lys in soe low a lattitude; and of the people that have died here (tho' it sounds a great many, and God in mercy let it stop) it is to be feared most of them have bin extreamely to blame, some have died in the worst course of phisick, the cause of which they brought with them from England or Batavia. Some others (nearly a quarter of what we have lost) were drownded in a Prow (or boate) both which misfortunes might have befallen them in any the healthiest place in the world. The inhabitants have their healths very well, and no seasoning at their first coming, for they are not natives any more than we, and I bless God we CHUSANERS[1] have hardly had our fingers ake since we came hither. And the Soberest and most active on the Island have had the best health.

"I have heard that some speak against the Harbours, and perticularly Capt. JOHN ROBERTS; but from the best information I can get from those who have had most experiance of them, this is the best all about the island, and altho' it has some corally rocks at bottome in many (but not all) places yet it lys soe that any ship which cuts her Cables can always put to sea, one way or other, and soe need never loose a shipp. If ships come to ly here long, they must be advised to Cackle[2] their Cables. I am sure its beter rideing here than in MADARASS or BALLASORE road. In the SW^{t} harbour (alias DAMPIERS BAY), which I am told Capt. ROBERTS said here he would commend to your Hono^{rs}, are such gusts come from the hills, that anchors and cables can hardly hold, and the mud is of that nature that it rotts cables beyond beliefe; also in that Bay I must note to your Hono^{rs} that there is no fresh water about six months in the yeare, and here we have always great plenty in many places, even in this soe uncustomary dry season.

"We have had but three Juncks here to trade, since my last comeing hither, and they have come loaden with provissions, the only thing which ships lying here used formerly to need; but I doe faithfully assure your Honours I have no feare of vessels in great numbers coming hither with all sorts of goods, soe soone as they heare we are settled here, and governe as in your Honours other factorys.

"To bring the CHINA trade hither I am of opinion your Honours should order one or two ships to ly here with money and goods, and not one that yeare to goe to CHINA; then would the CHINESE know where to find us, and perceive that they must come to us, as they doe to the DUTCH: This may be the loss of a season, and soe of too great consequence to be ventured at without your Honours positive orders. But with all humble submission I lay it before your Honours and think the sooner you please to order it the beter, for I am of opinion ere such your Honours orders can reach this place, it will be time to put them in execution, and this place will be equiped to answer its part in all things.

"I humbly beg your Honours will accept this (to the best of my knowledge) faithfull account, it not being taken up barely upon trust: I hope your Honours will excuse all faults and errors in it, since you are sensible its not in my power to adorne my discription with elegant language and fine flourishes. I

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[1] Viz., those who, like the writer, had been residents of the factory at Chusan.

[2] "KECKLING, or cackling, is covering a cable *spirally* . . . with three-inch old rope, to protect it from chafing in the hawze-hole" (Smith's *Sailors' Word-Book*).

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Illustrissime Princeps

Majestatis Vestræ

Humillimi et Obsequentissimi
Servi

Allen
Catchpoole.

Ex Insula Condore
5.° Aprilis 1703
St. V.

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have no other aime herein than to express my humble duty to your Honours, and rejoyce that you have pitched on a settlement which all must commend, and which Pere FRONTANEY told me the Jesuits of CHINA have for severall years bin pressing their Company to take possession of. I will ever be Zealous in promoting your Honour and interest, being of nothing more desireous than to be successfull in your Honours concerns, and by my actions and endeavours to convince your Honours that with all sincerity I am—

"Most Honoured Sirs
"Your Honours most faithfull most obedient
and most humble servant
"ALLEN CATCHPOOLE.

"The 13th July 1703. closed:
the *Samuel and Anna* being
arrived at 5 P.M.

"I have also presumed to inclose herewith an account of some CHINA goods: whence they come, their quantitys and prices. I cannot averr to the truth of it all, but I hope your Honours will accept it the best I could get it. Capt SHERSTONE assures me he sent your Honours a draught of this Island by the *Fleet* frigat and by the very first conveyance resolves to send your Honours another, with some amendments, soe I have not sent any draught as before mentioned."

(B.)

Dated at end, "BANJAR, 14th Feby. 170$\frac{4}{5}$."

"May it Pleas Your Honours,

"I Presume you have by this time received a ful account of the bloody Tragedy which was acted on the Island CONDORE by our treacherous Ma Lay's from Mr. JAMES POUND, to whom I gave a Particular relation of everything as near as I could, Yett I think it my duty to Acquaint your Honours thereof.

"On the 2d of March Our MACOSSAR Soldiers (by what Instigation is not Realy known) Sett fier to your Honours Warehouse where Our Provision was, and at the Same time three or four of them run into the Barracks with the confused Noise of *fier, fier,* At which our People (not suposing there was any Treachery) were most of them Creezed. The Governor, hearing the Storehouse was on fier, went out of his room to Call to Our People for Assistance, but before any body could come Near him he was Shott by one of the MACOSSARS and Afterwards creezed so that he Expired in a few Minnitts.

"Mr. LOYD, Mr. WINGATT who was Master attendant, the Doctor, and my Self Lay in one of your Honours Houses without the fort, and Mr. LOYD being up Saw your Honours Store house A fier and called us to goe along with him and give Our Assistance, he running a Little before was Soon overtaken by me, and when we came Pretty near the Fort he Sent his Servant to call to the Sergeant to open the gates, but the MACCOSSARS placeing themselves there Shot his man and him and four fired at me, but God be thank it they did me no harm. Goeing back to Our house I met Mr. WINGATT A goeing to the fort, but Telling him what had hapened and we not knowing As yett who was our friends or foes, we thought it the adviseablest way to goe down to the COCHIN CHINEZE Towne, and See if they would assist us. Accordingly we went there, and in Our way we mett One of your Honours Soldiers who made his Escape Out of the Fort and gave me the Relation how things passed in the (*sic*) there As per the former part of my Letter.

"When we came to the Town, and contrary to Our Expecta(tion), wee found the COCHIN CHINEES all in armes; wee Desired to speak with their *Quonsoy*

but they refused us. The 2nd *Quonsoy* came and Confined us upon their guard all night, Saying, in the Morning they would goe and Assist us, but in reality I believe 'twas Only that they mought have the Oppertunity of Plundering. In the Morning they came and told me there was ENGLISH on board there *Proes*. I prevailed with them to Lett me goe and See who they were, which I found to be Mr. JAMES CUNNINGHAM and Mr. GEORGE TOWNSEND. JOHN MAYFIELD and HENRY ORMON, the two Last being very Desperatly Wounded. MR. CUNNINGHAM and Mr. TOWNSEND came on Shoar, and we haveing a Little Debate resolved to goe to the fort, Meeting in Our way theither three or four ENGLISH men and Severall of your Honours Slaves. When we come there we found as near as we could guess, having no Scales to weigh it, about Twenty two Thousand *Tale* in ready money belonging to your Honours. So we left two ENGLISHMEN to Look after it, and the Rest went and Buryed our Dead which were:

"ALLEN CATCHPOOLE, Esqr.	MR. HENRY SAVAGE	JOHN PENYMAN
MR. SOLOMON LLOYD	MR. THO: FULLER, Ens^r:	ROBT: EMMITTS
MR. JOHN RIDGES	MR. JOHN HUNSDON	JOHN WATTS
CAPT. THO: RASHWELL	ARTHUR AUST, Serj^t:	JOHN BOLD
	PETER HILL	JOHN WALTON
	JOHN BRADFORD	PETER LAURENTIA.

"After we had buried the Dead we put your Honours money up into chests; the *Quonsoy* Said he must put A guard upon it, for if Any was embezeeled the King his Master would cut of his head. Mr. LOYDS house not being burnt we saved your Honours books of Account then, tho I fear they are Since burnt by the COCHIN CHINEEZ.

"After matters was a Little Over, we thought it very Convenient to send Somebody to CAMBOGIA, and Likewise Some to COCHIN CHINA. Accordingly on the 6th the Gentlemen Desired me to Proceed to COMBOGIA and from thence make the best of my way for BATAVIA and BANJAR, as pr. copy of thier Letter which comes in your Honours Packquett. As for what hapened afterwards, I refer your Honours to Mr. JAMES CUNINGHAM'S Letter from COCHIN CHINA, Copy of which goes Likewise in your Pacquett.

"Your Honours will see the Gentlemen Delivered me two hundred SPANISH Dollars for my Expences, which fell far Short as you will See by my Accounts, which hope your Honours will not think any Way Extravagant Considering there is nothing can be done in these parts without presents.

"I could not gett Out of COMBOGIA before July Last, and then by A meer Accident, being in a Sloop which Left Capt. DAMPIER in the South Seas and Comeing over by the PHILLIPINES thier Curiosity Led them to Look in there. We designed for CONDORE in hopes to meet with the *Caesar*, Capt. CLARK, but met with A Violent Storm About 7 Leages of the Island that blew all our Sailes away Save the Spright Sail, So that we were forced to put before it for CHINA were we arrived in August. I Left CHINA for BATAVIA in a PORTUGEEZE Ship in November Last, and arrived there in December; we Left BATAVIA Jany. the 11th, and arrived at BANJARMASSEIN the 18th, were I gave a ful Account of all Matters to the President and Councill of that place.[1] They Design to send the *Jane* to TYMORE and CHINA, and have thought fitt to Appoint me upon

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[1] Banjarmásin was the scene of a massacre very similar to that of Pulo Condore, 27th June 1707.

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her, which I hope will be affected both to your Honours Interest and Content. I have not to add but make bold to Subscribe my Self One off

"Your Honours
"Most obedient, faithfull,
"humble Servants
"AMBR: BALDWYN."

N.B.—It appears, however, from letters O.C. 8370 and 8371 that the massacre was known at Banjar by 4th August 1705, or earlier.

(C.)

From Mr. CUNINGHAME *and others to the* Revd. A. BALDWYN *and* Mr. WINGATE.

Dated at end, "CONDORE the 6th of March 1705" (should be "1704-5.")

"Wee desire you forthwith to take your Passage on the CAMBODIA vessel now riding at anchor in CONDORE roade to CAMBODIA, and haveing arrived there, you are to take the joynt advice of Doctor JAMES POUND and Mr. ABRAHAM CHITTY in order to your making the best of your way to BATAVIA and BANJAR (in the Island of BURNEO) and there to Acquaint all the shipping belonging to our Honble: Masters the ENGLISH Company . . . . and the President and Councell of BANJAR of the Fatall disaster of the Factory here by the MACCASSERS rising up against us the 2d of March at Midnight and Murdring the Governer, Mr. LOYD, and Mr. RIDGES, our second and third in Councill, and severall others to the Number of about twenty, the Fort being Intirely burnt and most part of our goods, and that wee have saved about 12000 tale in ready money besides a few goods which are all now under the protection of the COUCHIN CHINESES, but without the Speed arrivall of Shipping here wee feare all will be carried over to COCHIN CHINA, there fore wee desire the advice and assistance of the President and Councill of BANJAR and any of our Honble. Masters Shipping comeing this way to Contribute all thier Endeavour for the remouing or Securing of all our Honble: Masters Concearns and Effects here as well as all thier Servants belonging to this Island; and if it should fall out that all are carried over to COCHIN CHINA before the arrivall of the Shipping then wee desire that they would call at BARREA[1] the finest port in COCHIN CHINA ten leagues to the Norard of the Great River of COMBODIA and along that Coast so far as SUNWHA, the Court of the King of COCHIN CHINA, in the Lattde of 16 Degrees 30 minutes, in order to find us out with the Honble: Companys Concearnes. We deliver you herewith Two Hundred Dollars, the one hundred is for the use of the Honble: Companys Sloop and Gentlemen in her before mentioned, in case you meet with them, and the rest for your Transportation for BANJAR. Wee wish you all success, and a Speedy returne to youre assured ffreinds

"J. CUNINGHAME
"HENRY POTENGER
"GEO: TOWNSEND
"JOSEP: RIDGES."

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[1] BARIA is at present a prefecture of the French territory in Cochin China; the port immediately adjoins Cape St. James.

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(D.)

From Mr. CUNINGHAME:

"DING MOY in BARRA,
"May 11th 1705.

"Mr. BALDWYN and Mr. WINGATT,

"S^rs:

"Vnderstanding that you are still at CAMBOGIA, this my Second to you to informe you what has befallen us since your departure. The next day after, the COCHIN CHINESES caught one of the MACCASSERS, and that very night cutt off his head, where by we thought there friendship was secured to us, yet on the 10th without any provocation (but to make sure of their pray) they barbarouslie murdered all the ENGLISH (first one half at the Fort whither they desired us to goe and see what goods we would have brought from thence, and then the other half at the midle town) with Topasses and 6 Slaves, only me they saved alive (after they had given me two wounds—one slight in my arme, the other more dangerous in my left side—whereof, God be thanked, I am well) with 15 slaves and 2 Topasses. On the 18th arrived there from BARRA 4 COCHIN CHINESES Galleys with proos which amounted in all to 65, and in them about 300 souldiers, the other COCHIN CHINESE making about 300 more, where with they Embarked every thing worth the carrying away, even to the Horses, Dogs, and Catts. The Brigentine and Boats were burnt. During their Stay, they went 3 or 4 times in search of the MACASSERS, and liting on them at last in FRESH WATER BAY (where they had build a hous), killed 4 of them and wounded 3 more and gott there 300 Dollars and two Bags of Rice. On the 7th of Aprill I was put on board one of the Gallys, but the wind proving Contrary, we sailed not till the 17th and arrived here the 22d, where I was put into the charge of the Captain of the Gally, not having leave to goe anywhere without a Souldier a long with me. I saw and understood that all the people belonging to the MADERASS Sloop were under confinement in separate houses and also in *Congass*[1] except Captain RIDGLEY. I desired severall times to weit upon the Govener, but could not,—he was so much taken up (as they said) in overhaleing the goods come from CONDORE, and weighing the money which was found to amount to 21,300 *tale* c. ½½ last.[2] Upon the 28 Following I was obliged to appear as a Criminall in *Congas* also, where I was Charged with 3 crimes: first that the ENGLISH when they arrived at P^o. CONDORE said they would stay there whither the King of COCHIN CHINA would or not. Secondly that there were no English sent along with the Present to Court last yeare. Thirdly wee sent a ship to CAMBOGIA and did not acquaint the Govener of BARRA therewith.

"To the first I replied that we never had said any such thing, for at our arrival there, we knew not that any boddy lived upon the Island, and that as soon as our Govener had dispatched the ships from CHINA he Presently Sent an Embasy to COCHIN CHINA whereby we had his grant to stay there.

"To the second, that all the English were so Sickley that we had not one of any Post that we could send, and therefore spoke to a CHINESE Captain (SWEE-QUA) who agreed to go but that the *Caifou* did take it upon him Self to carry the Presents and excuse us to the King, whereto they reply'd that the sending of a

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[1] What we usually call *Cangue*, the Chinese penal collar, or portable pillory.

[2] This seems to be some equation of weight, but I do not understand the notation.

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CHINESE was all one as sending the *Caifou*, and that an Englishman would have done better. I answered it was the *Caifous* fault, who should have Informed us Better; then further why we did not gett some out of the Ships to send when there was so many, to which replyed, that It was not in our Power to demand them out of the Ships.

"To the Third that never any boddy tould us that we were to acquaint the Governer of BARREA before we sent any Ships to CAMBOGIA. Then Insisted why there did not one single ENGLISH man come to him from the Ship at the mouth of CAMBOGIA River when he sent thither for one to Speak with him. To this I replyed that the Ships had not returned to PULO CONDORE, and therefore I could not possitively tell there reason for so doing; then I was dismised, when I had the *Congas* taken off againe.

"The next day I was at the Governers sones hous, by which the Govener, passing accidentaly, see me, where upon he sent for me to his house; he asked me nothing of moment but why I sent two ENGLISHMEN to CAMBOGIA, and how much money I had given them two, which having made answere I desired to know what he had resolved to doe with us. He said that we must stay here till he have a return from Court, which will take up two mounths, and being asked to send for Captain RIDGLEY (who is sick at DANG-NAR) and take his people out of the *Congas*, he only replyed that he would see to it Shortly. The CHINESES of P^o: CONDORE have gott the most part of what they had returned them againe. The *Quinsai* expects to be made a great man for his Valliant and Villanose actions. I am allowed 3 *Quan* a mounth to live upon, and have the 2 MADERASS women for my fellow prissoners. Thus matters stands at Present, but the result God knows. If you have any oppertunity (as you must needs by the CHINESES) pray let us here from you before you leave CAMBOGIA.

"I am your Loving ffreind,

"J. CUNNINGHAM."

(E.)

"*Recd. per the Union the 8th March* 1707 (-8).

"On the 3d March 170⅘ at one a Clock in the morning the Masacre at PULO CONDORE was Comitted by the BUGGESSIS or MASSCASSER soldiers.

"In which was slain *viz:*

"ALLEN CATCHPOLE, Esq., and Governor
Mr. JOHN RIDGES, Lift: THO: RASHALL, Ensign THO: FULLER, Mr. JOSEPH RIDGES; ARTHUR SERJEANT,[1] JOHN PERRYMAN, JOHN MANFEILD, JOHN BOLT,[2] ROBT: EMET, W^m: EMET, JOHN WATTS, HERRY ORMOND, GEO: STRATFORD, PETER a *Dutchman*, JOHN WALTON.

"Tis not known what is becom of the following persons, Mr. CUNINGHAM parted with Mr. CHITTY and POTTINGER, after the Masacre tis Supposed went to COCHIN CHINA town.

"Mr. JAMES CUNINGHAM, Mr. HENRY POTTINGER, Mr. ABRAM BALDWIN, Mr. — WINGATE, Mr. — SALVAGE, Mr. GEO: TOWNSEND, JOHN HANSDOWN, ST: PAUL, Chirurgeon, JOHN LINCH, Armorer, JOHN the Smith, ALEXANDER LINDSEY, JOHN SLADE.

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[1] Sergt. ARTHUR AUST; see in (B.) above.

[2] BOLD, above.

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"The following Persons escaped to Batavia.

"The Reverend Mr. James Pond		
Mr. Abraham Chitty, since gone to England		
Mr. Moses Wilkins	,,	Persia
Tho: Emerson	,,	England
John Paterson	,,	Do.
Henry Peterson	,,	Do.
James Ray	,,	Do.
Yanghee	,,	Do.
John Hall	,,	West Coast.

"Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Wm. Salladine, and Mr. Tho: Raphael were gon on the *Seaford to* Cambodia before the Massacre."

(N.B.—Messrs. Pound and Chitty were apparently in Camboja at the time of the massacre (see under C., p. cccxxxix).

No. 7.

Kedgeree.

This name may serve for a medley of various extracts, difficult to classify, but which one who has been acting more or less as *chiffonier* among the Company's old papers is unwilling to let fall into the rubbish-basket. One should perhaps explain that the word is much misapplied in England to a mess of recooked fish, served for breakfast. It is properly a dish of rice cooked with butter and *dâl* (split pease), and flavoured with a little spice, shred onion, and what not, which is on record as the favourite substratum of an Indian breakfast at least since the 14th century. But the word was formerly in use for various medleys or hotch-potches; as for example, in the Persian Gulf, Dr. Fryer, speaking of the pearl-trade, says:

"Whatever is of any Value is very dear. Here is great Plenty of what they call *Ketchery*, a mixture of all together, or Refuse of Rough, Yellow, and Unequal, which they sell by Bushels to the Russians."[1]

(A.)

Extract of a letter from Andrew Cogan (*2nd of Council at* Surat) to "Worshipfull and my much honour'd freind" (*apparently some one in high place in the Company at home*), *dated* Surat, Decr. 24, 1634.[2]

(The writer's views as to the right policy in India.)

"Here at Subratt we found all your Marchants in health but not at free liberty, for the president might not be suffer'd for many dayes after our arrivall to come a board Shipp vnless he would have given consent by writeinge for the

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[1] I borrow from the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v.

[2] O.C. 1654. I take the date from the office index. It is, like various words throughout the extract, not now legible in the original.

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Inthralment of all the Companys (stock?) and estate hereafter, which by noe meanes he would be drawne vnto, resolueinge to suffer in his owne person more then they durst effect rather then leave the Companys business by timiditie in a worse plight then he found it; but the comeinge in of the Shipp *Mary* from MOCHO with divers passengers and a great (. . .) of moneys belonging to severall merchants in SURRATT (. . .) sett a period to that difference (occationed by COBBS then in the Redd Sea) as by Mr. METHWOULD you will at large be (given?) to understand; and doubt not but from him the (trade?) will receive such Incouridgment and his Majestie will open his Eares to the Justness of the Company's Cause that Adventurers wilbe drawne in to make a larger stock then ours is. For all thinges rightly Considered now is the tyme to make INDIA a benefitiall trade; the late famine quite forgotten, Goods to be had in abundance and the Company . . . lessen'd by many hundreds in this (. . .) which is very considerable.

"Heretofore when the INDIAN Trade was at the best the Company was forst for 1 small shipp ladinge from this place, to send 4 or 5 other shipps to guard her, with other Inconveniences which hath caused (. . .) but now that Charge is cleane taken off by reason of peace with the Portugalls and therefore goods that use (. . .) tyme of peace; And now that I have begunn to (speak?) of the Advancement of the INDIAN Trade be pleased to (take) notiz of these following particulars, not that I take on me to direct (for I know my selfe to be but one of your most antient servants), but out of the hearty desire I have for the Companyes prosperitye. I am bould to saye, in the first place that your (direction?) in INDIA must be reduced to one head, be itt at BANTAM or SURRATT, that as the Company shall thinke fitt, for although it may Soe happen that the two presidents shall hould good correspondence and supply each other for the good of the Company, yett it is not to be expected continually, for that most men looke Soe much to there perticular as they forgett the generall, nay (yf the presidencq come to be Injoyed by some men as it hath at BANTAM lately by reason of mortallitye) they forgett themselves and that they are but servants, but on the contrary comfort themselves like pettye Kings, which gives occation to theire Subordinate factoryes to live at the hight of Expence, as lately they have done at MACCASSAR and MESULAPATNAM, which yf report be true is beyond all modestye.

"Then secondly the Company must give orders for your makeing good a place for the securitye of there estate in INDIA, which how much prejudice the want hath been is very visible, for are wee not continually subject (to), and have not your Estate made good, all demaunds from tyme to tyme, be it right or wronge. And lastly are wee certayne of continuance of peace with the PORTUGALLS and DUTCH, noe; for the peace wee Injoy by them is but for theire owne Ends, all which being duely considered 'twer very requisitt that the makeing good a place were first put in practiz, from which will arrise these bennifitts, you shalbe ever secure of the most part of your estate, and yf any affront offer'd be enabled to doe ourselves righte."

(B.)

TOURISTS IN INDIA.

Some trace of these we find in the Records; we mean of travellers whose steps were led to India by no inducements of trade or service, but who came for their own pleasure or convenience. The prince of all such, who have related their experiences, is Pietro della Valle, the most

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insatiate in curiosity, the most intelligent in apprehension, the fullest and most accurate in description.

Of another eminent person figuring as a tourist in India, I have caught a glimpse, but no more. In a splendid Loan Collection of portraits which was exhibited at Edinburgh in 1883 or '84 I was much interested in a full-length picture by Vandyke, belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, of William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh. He is represented as out shooting, dressed in a red Indian jacket and pyjâmas, attended by a Hindu boy, and surrounded by conventional suggestions of tropical life and vegetation. Why so? No peerage-book, or work of biography or history, so far as I could learn, threw any substantial light on the subject.

But the picture is engraved (though not at full length) in Lodge's Portraits. All the matter approaching the subject which we find in Lodge's *Memoir* is the following:

"... That DENBIGH however had incurred considerable unpopularity" (by his failure at ROCHELLE in 1628) "may be reasonably inferred from his being soon after sent into an honourable exile under the character of Ambassador to the SOPHI, a fact which we learn from the inscription on a very rare engraving of him by VOERST, which states also that he was at the Court of that monarch in 1631. This circumstance of his life sufficiently explains the remarkable accompaniments of the portrait prefixed to this very imperfect memoir. Those who shew to strangers the fine collection in which the original remains, account for the singularities in question by asserting, with the usual simplicity and perseverance of such exhibitors, that he was Governor of JAMAICA, but, unfortunately for the tradition, that island was not possessed by the ENGLISH till several years after his death."

A visit to Persia would not sufficiently explain the Hindustani costume; but there is a more satisfactory explanation.

In the Record Office, looking for something else among the *India* Papers, I found, under 1630, copies of letters of commendation in favour of Lord Denbigh, from King Charles to

(1). "The High and Excellent Monarch, the great Lord SHAUGH SUFFIE, Emperor of PERSIA, MEDIA, PARTHIA, ARMENIA, and of the famous Kingdome of LAR and ORMUS," etc.[1] ...

(2). "The Excellent and prudent Lord, Nabob ASUPH CHAN," etc.[2] ...

(3). "The great and valiant Nabob CHAN CHANAN, Generall of the Victorious Armes of the Mighty Emperor of INDIA," etc.[3] ...

These documents showed that Lord Denbigh in any case had meditated

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[1] Sháh Safí, grandson of Sháh 'Abbás, whom he had succeeded in the beginning of 1629.

[2] This must be Yamín-ud-daula, styled A'saf Khán, who was Wazír of the Emperor Jahángír, and brother of the famous Núrjahán. Died 1641.

[3] Presumably Mahábar Khán, Khán-Khánán; died 1633.

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The right Honourable **WILLIAM** ffielding. Earle of Denbigh. Vicount ffielding. and Baron of Newenham. Ambassador to the high & mighty King of Persia.

Will: Webb. excudit. A°: 1631.

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a journey in India. And on turning to the *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*) I found the following entries:

"1630. Aug. 15. (63). *The* KING *to the* E. I. COMPANY. WILLIAM Earl of DENBIGH has an earnest desire to travel into ASIA, into the GREAT MOGUL'S Country and also into PERSIA. His intended journey would be too tedious and dangerous overland; they are therefore requested to give orders that he and his followers be received for his passage into the said countries into such one of their Ships as he shall make choice of, and that the great cabin be allowed for himself and his train, consisting, at the most, of six persons."

* * * * * * *

"1631. Jany. 20th. (85). ROWLAND WOODWARD *to* THOMAS WINDEBANK . . . Lord DENBIGH went last week to the EAST INDIES."

* * * * * * *

"1631. Febry. 9th. *Captain* JOHN MENNES *to the Lords of the* ADMIRALTY Reports his cruise in the ENGLISH Channel after pirates. . . . Met Lord DENBIGH on Wednesday last. He had 'a great scape' in the Storm the Friday before."

* * * * * * *

"1633. July 15th. *Captain* JOHN PENNINGTON *to the Lords of the* ADMIRALTY. . . . On the 13th came up with the *Jewel* of LONDON, one of our EAST INDIA Ships, much dispersed. . . . They reported the Earl of DENBIGH to be in good health, and to purpose shortly to return."

* * * * * * *

"1633. Aug. 28th. JAMES HOWELL to *Secretary* WINDEBANK. . . . Lord DENBIGH is returned from the GREAT MOGOR full of Jewels."

In the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. iv, p. 254, there is a mere allusion to the Earl's travels in the East, and to his credentials, which probably are the same as those which I saw in the Record Office; but there are no particulars whatever.

In the India Office O.C. Papers I find a few wretchedly meagre and uninforming notices, which simply witness the fact that Lord Denbigh was in India; being merely notes or abstracts of the contents of letters from Surat, made on their receipt in London. The handwriting, too, is cramped and difficult, so I give them under a little reserve.

O.C. 1428. *Notes of a general letter from* SURAT *to the Company*, *of* 24th April 1632:

"The *Marie* . . . intended to be imployed on freaght to MUSELPATAM . . . and from thence to PERSIA. . . ."

"The EARLE of DENBIGH, his interteynment with the MOGULL; he purposeth to go in the *Marie* whither she goeth."

O.C. 1456. *Note from* SURAT *letter of* 4th January 1632(-3):

"The E: of DENBIE hath bin at MUSLAPATAM and PERSIA in the *Marie*, and intends to return in the *James*."

O.C. 1428. *Note of letter of* 25th January 1632(-3):

"The *Marie* and the Dolphin to go for MISLEPATAM and BANTAM, if the

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Maries ladeing shall not be procured, to go directlie from SURRATT for LONDON. . . ."

"The Ld: of DENBIGH hath satisfied us here for his owne and attendants diet to 5 January, for the future you are to (. . . . ?) there."

O.C. 1456. *Note of letter of* 27th January 1632(-3):

"The EARLE of DENBIGH oweth for 2 butts of Sacke."[1]

Another Englishman of ancient lineage is found in India a quarter of a century later, as we learn from a letter of the Court to Fort St. George, dated 27th February 1657(-8):

"There is remaining with you either at FORT ST. GEORGE or some other place on the COAST, an ENGLISH Gentleman named S^r: HENRY SKIPWITH; the occasion of his leaving his native Country is questionless known vnto you. This Gentleman in perticular we recommend vnto you, to vse him with that Civillitie and Curtesie as becometh a person of his quallitie, and that you afford him any such lawfull favour as is due and requirable from one Christian to another. Wee entend not hereby that he should be chargeable either to you or our Selves, but that he may be permitted to remaine with you and under your protection during his pleasure, and not sooner be sent home without our further order. And Soe the Allmightie Keep you, and wee remaine

"Your very loving ffriends," etc.

Nothing of this journey to India appears to be known in the traditions of the Skipwith family. There were in that name three baronetcies held by families of common descent, viz. (1) Skipwith of Newbold (cr. 1670, ext. 1790); (2) Skipwith of Metheringham (cr. 1678, ext. 1756); (3) Skipwith of Prestwould (cr. 1622, and still flourishing). Sir Henry, the subject of the letter, must be the second baronet of the Prestwould branch, of whom I find nothing recorded but that he died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother Grey, who emigrated to Virginia during the Protectorate, and there built a residence which he named Prestwould. Sir Henry, the first baronet, and father of this Sir Henry and Sir Grey, was a hearty royalist, and was heavily fined by the Parliamentary sequestrators. And his fortune being impaired, he sold his estates about 1653. Whether it was merely for political reasons, or through some personal misadventure, that the second Sir Henry went to India remains doubtful.[2]

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[1] The supposition that Lord Denbigh was ever at the Court of Persia hardly receives support from the brief notices quoted. Voerst's inscription would seem merely evidence that the visit had been contemplated.

[2] I refer to *A Brief Account of the Skipwiths*, etc., by (the late) Fulwar Skipwith, of the Bengal Civil Service. Printed for private circulation, Tunbridge Wells, 1867. The author, a valued friend and near connection of the present writer, was not aware of this Indian journey of his ancestor, which would have greatly interested him.

In the end of the last century the heir of the Prestwould Skipwiths, after

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I find from a letter inserted in Vol. v. of the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Commission (p. 360) that Sir Henry died in India, and apparently before the Court's recommendation was written.

The letter, among the papers of R. Cholmondely, Esq., of Condover Hall, Shropshire, is from Wm. Smith, written at the Factory of VERASHEROONE, 24th December 1658. Among other things the writer says:

"I am placed in the healthiest place of all INDIA on the coast of CORMONDELL. It is an inland town, some 40 English miles from the Metropolitan Port and factory, which is called MECHLUPATAM. This country is level for 100 miles and more, not one hill to be seen; abundance of wild fowl: the chiefest of our diet all the year long is wild ducks, and such like. Mr. ACOURT our chief, and Mr. SEYMOUR our second, do very well agree, which is the life of our trade . . . Had I a good cloth coat with a large silver lace, which is all the wear here, and the badge of an ENGLISHMAN; and on the contrary without it and other answerable to it, not esteemed nor regarded. The chiefest thing needful is a good hat . . . I suppose you have heard of the death of Sir HENRY SKIPWORTH, who died about a year and a half since, as I am informed, of grief, he having, as is said, lost his estate by a vessel which was cast away; he died about 7 miles from hence at one Mr. WINTER's house, an ENGLISHMAN."[1]

The ISAAC LAURENCE whose letter from Gombroon, of June 14th, 1679, is given at p. vi, of vol. iii, would appear to have belonged to the class of travellers from curiosity; but we know no more of him.

We hear of an early *shikár* party visiting India, in the *New Account* of Capt. Alexander Hamilton:

"This Country" (about CARWAR on the Western Coast) "is so famous for hunting, that two Gentlemen of Distinction, viz. Mr. LEMBOURG of the House of LEMBOURG in GERMANY, and Mr. GORING, a Son of my Lord GORING's in ENGLAND, went *incognito* in one of the EAST INDIA Companys Ships, for INDIA. . . . They spent three years at CARWAR, viz. from *Anno* 1678. to 1681. then being tired with that Sort of Pleasure they took Passage on board a Company's Ship for ENGLAND, but Mr. GORING died four Days after the Ship's Departure from CARWAR, and he's buried on the Island of ST. MARY, about four

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the family had flourished in Virginia nearly a century and a half, came to England, subsequently to the extinction of the Newbold branch, to whose estates he eventually succeeded.

[1] VERASHEROONE (properly *Víravásaram*) was long a subordinate factory of the Company's in the Godavery Delta, from before the middle of the 17th century.

The place where the unfortunate Skipwith died must have been MADAPOLLAM, the seat of another factory with a Chief and Council; and his host Mr. Winter was afterwards that Sir Edward of whom we have heard so much in earlier pages (see pp. cclxxvi-cclxxxi). Madapollam is about seven or eight miles from Víravásaram.

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Leagues from the Shore, off BATACOLA, and Mr. LEMBOURG returned Safe to ENGLAND."[1]

Search would no doubt produce other examples of the early tourist, and perhaps some of more interest; but I must close with the following:

(Apparently addressed to the Directors of the New Company).

"On board His Majesties Ship
y^e: *Hastings* May 9th 1701.[2]

"Hon^rd: S^rs:

"Your Honours may very well wonder that I should have the confidence to assume to write to you being altogether a Stranger, but hauing the happiness to make a voyage to India to compleat my fathers works who trauelled India ouer at time(s) and Designing them for the press as soon as possible, thought my Self obleiged hauing receiued So many fauours at SURRAT from S^r: NICH: WAITE and knowing how affairs goe their, to let you know that when arriue in ENGLAND can and will (if required) give your Hon^rs: a just and true account of all occurrences relating to your business, and wish could have come home in the *Canterbury*, but hauing such an ill conditioned fellow of a Captain to deall with, being so very apt to giue such Scuruy language could neuer brook the thoughts of coming home in his Ship tho' I have endeauour'd (as far as honour and reputation would permit me) to obleige him but could not: what the Captain has said relating to your honours Affairs since came from SURRATT Shall leiue whilst arriue, it being too tedious for a letter and likewise not hauing time, the Ship being to leiue us on the morning, I receiued a letter from S^r: NICH: WAITE when I was Imbarked on board the Ship for Sailing wherein he informs me that the Old Factory had giuen the Governor 100 000^Ru: and the Meer 25 000^ru: and that the Voconouis[3] & Harcarra had dispatcht away an express to inform the King thereof. This hoping that you will pardon the stile and the planeness hauing no time for correction is all from

"Your very humble servant to command
"PRATT TYSON,
Clerk."

I can find nothing in the bibliographies regarding any works of Mr. Tyson's father, or publications of his own.

(C.)

The following letters were accidentally omitted in the notice of Sir JOHN GAYER; they should have been inserted at p. cxliii. The manner and language of Sir Nicholas Waite's successful endeavour to supersede Sir John, in the assumption of the position of "General" under the Managers of the United Trade, are too characteristic to allow of my resting content with the omission of these letters, which I therefore now insert.

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[1] *New Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, i, 263-4.
[2] O.C. 7573.
[3] *Waka'navis* "news writer."

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From Letter of the Court of Managers to "Our Generall & Councell at BOMBAY, 4th June 1703".

"47. We come now to acquaint you that we have chosen and do hereby constitute and appoint Sr. JOHN GAYER to be Generall, Mr. JOHN BURNISTOUN to be Deputy Governour and Second . . . of our Council at BOMBAY for the management of the Affairs of the United Trade, Their Sallaryes to Commence from the time they come to BOMBAY, and you are to send to such of them as are at SURATT to come up to BOMBAY with all convenient speed, And if it should fall out that Sr. JOHN GAYER is yet detained at SURATT and cannot get liberty to come away from thence in three months after he shall have received notice of this our Election of him, to take upon him his Government, or if at the three Months End he shall be hindred by the Monsoon, and cannot in one month after the turn of the Monsoon go up to BOMBAY, in such case we hereby appoint Sr. NICHOLAS WAITE our President of SURATT to be Generall in the room of Sr. JOHN GAYER, and if our said President shall be restrained at SURATT So as not to be able to go up to BOMBAY then we appoint Mr. JOHN BURNISTON the present Deputy Governour of BOMBAY to be Generall until further orders. . . ."

Letter (partially mutilated) *from Sir* N. WAITE *and Council at* SURAT *for the New Company, to* "*Sir* JOHN GAYER, *knight*, *Generall* (for the) *Honble. Old Company and* (Council)".[1]

Dated "SURATT, October the 31st, 1704."

"Srs:

"Wee will not doubt your being advised . . . you Sent us a letter Sunday the 29th inst: from the Deputy G(overnour) AISLABEE dated the 23d inst: att BOMBAY telling us that near two m(onths had) elapsed Since ENGLISH Ships hath bin att SURATT Rivers mouth w(hich) they esteem the utmost time limitted by the Court of Managers for Sr. JNO: GEYER or Sr. NICHs: WAITE coming on BOMBAY to act as Generall, who not then appearing said charter devolued on the Depy. Governour, according to their orders, &ca. *Vide*.

"Wee receiued but one Single letter from the Court of Managers to their President and Councill att SURATT till the Deputy Governour and Mr. AISLABEE as appears by their letter the 28th inst: transmitted in the *Abingdons* Packett that came to our hands the 27th inst: wherein we had a Letter to the Generall and Councill of BOMBAY dated the 4th June. Signed, by the Secretarys of both Companys as the Court advises in their Said Letter dated the 11th June 1703 referring to their Generall Letter the 4th June where they say have fully exprest their meaning 'twill be now necessary transcribeing the 47th Par: of said letter as follows" (See preceding extract) . . .

"Is very plaine and evident to every impartiall man there's no other time if any Limitted to Sr. NICHO: WAITE goeing to BOMBAY then the 3 months allowed and appointed Sr. JNO: GAYER, the one month aftere the Turne of the Monsoon is a Espetiall ffavour and respect Singly to Sr: JNO: GAYER without any coherance relating to Sr: NICHO: WAITE, every one of us unwilling interfearing in said affaire expecting that you Gentlemen or the Deputy Governour and Councill for

[1] O.C. 8290.

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the United Trade at BOMBAY to have Notified the true Genuin Time and Turne of the Monsoone as held and Esteemed by the PORTUGUEIZ and other antient EUROPEAN and the Severall inhabitants of INDIA for the Queens Men of Warr Rashly comeing to this Barr alters not the Annuall Season that by accident may meet with Severe & Calme weather otherwise any Nation may assume an Almighty Power equaly with Mr. BURNISTON and AISLABEE.

"But it being notorious & Certified by all EUROPEANS, DUTCH, FFRENCH, ENGLISH, PORTUGUEEZ, the Last under a Notary publick, as well as the MOORES Accountt, the Turne of the Monsoone S[t]: FRANCISCO or the *Elephant* ends att or upon and not before the new moon in 7ber: which fell out this year to be the 18th: Ult[o]: and the new moon the 17th Inst: or the 18th Inst: a full Callender month manifestly concludes the Honble: S[r]: JNO: GAYERS haveing any pretence being in the Direction or Service of the United Trade as wee wrote the Deputy Governour and Councill for said United Trade att BOMBAY the 18th Inst: Transmitted by Mr. EDMUND CROWE that went Downe the 19th Do: upon our Yatch accompanied by two of our Companys Servants delivering said Notification and that S[r]: NICHO: WAITE the (Per) son appointed Generall in the roome of . . . . the said Deputy Governour &ca. Imediately upon . . . . the *Josia* carrying downe S[r] NICHOLAS WAITE . . . . he being noe otherwise restrained but want(ing . . . .) the Companys Ships where he may be Safe in his Person . . . .

"And haveing performed our parte as wee Shall in our Sev(erall) . . . . endeavour a faithfull obedience to the orders Transmitted by the Court of Managers in their said Letter dated the 4th of June 1703 being always ready as wee have often wrote you not in any perticular yett altered heartily giveing all the assistance wee Can amicably Accomodating the causes of your restraint the Government and Inhabitants Says for Seizurs made by Sr: JNO: CHILD in his Warr Still unajusted and unpaid.

"And wee cannot be so remiss in our duty to the Honour of our Nation and the Safety of every Interest as well as the persons of all ENGLISH in SURATT to declare that whatever untoward mischief Losses and damages may happen to the Seperate Affaires and United Trade of the ENGLISH Company and others by Such unwarrantable proceedures will assuradely make Liable whoever they be, whether in SURATT, BOMBAY or att Sea makeing full and intire Satisfaction to every Said ENGLISH Interest.

"Wee have obtained leave from the Governour for Mr: WM: PROBY Second of our Councill waiting upon you Gentlemen and deliver this letter to you being att present desireing your imediate answer that wee may take such measures agreeable & not repugnant to the orders from the United Managers."

(D.)

ALGERNON SIDNEY *a Stockholder in the E. I. Co.*

From Court Book, 16th May 1648:

"Mr. Secretary acquainted the Court that Collonell ALGERNON SIDNEY had underwritt 800*l*. in this voyage and that he now desired to bee an Adventurer onely for 400*l*. which he hath already paid in, which being considered of, the Court condescended to his desire . . ."

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(E.)

" . . . *Through Optick glass the* TUSCAN ARTIST *views*
At evening from the top of FESOLE
Or in VALDARNO . . ."

From Court Book, 12th March 1651(-52):

"ORDERED that Mr. THOMAS BURNELL should bee paid the Summe of 40*l.* to bee by him bestowed in some present to Seignour HELVERIO who sent the GALILEAN prospective glasse to the Company which is presented to the King of MACCASSAR, As also, Mr. BURNELL with that mony was desired to present his kinsman living at DANTZICK with a Tunne of ENGLISH Beere for his paynes bestowed in this particular business."

(F.)

Use of the Word Artist.

In the motto set before the last extract Milton uses the word *artist* in its older and generic sense; in the next we seem to have it applied, as in modern use, to denote a painter (or sculptor) specifically.

From Court Book, 12th February 1657:

"Mr: Wm: GARWAY came this day into Court, and acquainted them that the King of PERSIA desires an English Limbner may be sent unto him; Of which the Court tooke notice, and resolved to make choice of a good *Artist*, if they send any."

I find also, many years later, in a "*List of Goods proper to be invested and laden at* AMOY" (in *Letter Book*, c. 28th October 1698):

"Ten thousand Pictures of all the variety the *Artists* can invent of the Country ffancys, but they must be done by curious Artists."

(G.)

First appointment of a CHAPLAIN *in* INDIA.

From the Court, a Circular, (dated at end) "EAST INDIA House, the 13th February 1657"(-8). *Sent to Doctor* CONNETT, *Vice Chancellor*, Doctor JOHN OWEN, *Doctor* THO: GOODWIN, and Doctor HENRY WILKINSON, *at* OXFORD; *and to Doctor* TUCKNEY *and* Doctor ARROWSMITH *at* CAMBRIDGE:

"Worshipfull

"The EAST INDIA Company having resolved to endeavour the advance and spreading of the gospell in INDIA, and the settlement of an orthodox godly Minister such an one as may instruct and teach the people that shall be committed to his Charge, in building them up in the knowledge of GOD, and faith in JESUS CHRIST, Wee doe therefore make these our desires knowne vnto you, intreating that you would be pleased to afford vs your assistance herein by recommending vnto vs for this purpose some such person whom you shall approve and declare to be a fitt Instrument, both willing and able to vndergoe

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and manadge this great and good worke, Wednesday the 24th of this moneth, wee entend God willing to proceede to choice, and therefore if you shall find and know a person soe qualified we desire that before the time be expired, he may present himselfe with your recommendations vnto us. Wee are enforced to contract our Selues to this short time, because our Shipping vpon necessitie must depart by the later end of the next moneth; ffor his encouragement wee have setled an allowance of 100*l* per Annum certaine, with accommodation of Dyet, and there is noe question but his other benefitts will be very considerable, therefore being confident of your ready assistance to the promoting of this good worke, wee shall not further enlarge, but leave you to the direction of the Allmightie in this and all other good workes and remaine

"Your assured friends

"MAURICE THOMSON Govr." (and seven others).

(H.)

Some notices of the KNOXES, *Captives in* CEYLON.

In *Court Book*, under 28th December 1657:

"Captain KNOX Commander of the *Anne* chartered vessel, allowed liberty to carry 100*l*. adventure for himself." (This is the elder Knox, father of the author of the well-known and excellent book.)

Extract of Letter from COURT *to* FORT ST. GEORGE, dated 16th December 1663.

"Wee are glad to heare that Captain KNOX and those other Persons, which are Captivated in ZEILON, are Liveing, but sorry for their sadd condition. Wee hope you have prudently contrived some way for their Releasment, and that thereby they have obteyned their Libertie."

24th January 1667. The Court refer again to the subject, and say they have sent "six Lustie Mastiffs, which will be acceptable to the King."

Court Book, under 15th September 1680:

"Mr. ROBERT KNOX and Mr. STEVEN RUTLAND who were prisoners on the Island of CEYLON and lately escaped thence, coming into Court, were directed to attend the Comittees for shipping, to communicate what they had observed of affaires in those parts."

Ditto, under 6th October 1680:

"It is ordered that the sum of 20*l*. be paid unto ROBERT KNOX, and 10*l*. to STEPHEN RUTLAND .... for their relief."

Ditto, under 22nd October 1680:

"Whereas ROBERT KNOX who was many years a Captive on the Island of ZEILON, is entertained as a 4th Mate on board the *New London* now bound for BANTAM, It is ordered that if upon his arrivall he be desirous to continue in the Country the Comãnder is permitted to leave him at BANTAM, to be further employed as this Court shall direct."

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Court Book, under 30th March 1681:

"The Court were now pleased to entertain Mr. ROBERT KNOX to serve them in the EAST INDIES at Sea or on Shore, at the Salary of £40 per Annum, to comence from the time of his arrival at BANTAM."

Ditto, under 11th May 1681:

"Mr. Robert Knox being presented the Comander of the new Ship letten to freight by S^r: HENRY JOHNSON for the Companys service, on a voyage to the SOUTH SEAS, the Court approved thereof."

Captain Knox's name often occurs again in the records, in various marine employments. Thus we have seen him as commander of the ship *Tonqueen*, 24 guns, in the fleet sent to India for the intended capture of Chittagong (*supra*, p. lii); and he had been previously appointed to take the same vessel to Madagascar for a cargo of negroes, as noticed in note, p. ix.

The Court again, in Jany. 1694, hear of the death of Job Charnock through Capt. Knox, just arrived from India.

(I.)

Gift of POLYGLOT BIBLE.

Extract of Letter to FORT, 22 *February* 1659(-60):

"It hath pleased a worthy Member of our Societie, Mr: THO: RICH, to present us with 6 volumes conteyning the old and new Testaments in severall Languages, it being his desire that they may bee sent, to remayne in your ffactorie, hoping it may bee a meanes to propagate and spread the Gospell in those parts, which is his, and our earnest desire by all meanes possible to advance and further. Wee haue therefore laden them on our Ship *Smirna Merchant*, and recomend them (as a choice Guift) vnto you, to bee carefully preserved and made use of, for that intent and purpose to which they are designed; The like volumes the said Mr. RICH hath given us for to bee sent to SURRATT, which wee intend to sent thither on the Ship *Eagle*."[1]

(J.)

Application from MR. BAXTER.

From Court Book, c. 1660 (but actual reference lost).

"Vpon reading a Letter from Mr. RICHARD BAXTER, an eminent Devine, wherein hee requested the Companies permission, that some number of the Bookes named GROTIUS *de Veritate Religionis Christianae*, which are translated into the ARABIKE tongue, at the charge of Mr. ROBERT BOYLE, might by some of the Companies Agents, be prudently dispersed in such places of the Companies Trade (not in the TURKISH Empire), where the Language is vnderstood, to the End Christianitye may be established among these Infidells. The Court was very ready to promote so pious a Worke, soe they may be first satisfied that these Bookes have the Allowance of Authoritie."

[1] This must have been Brian Walton's work, in six volumes, the last three of which were published in 1657.

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(K.)

Commission Extraordinary.

Extract of Letter from Court to FORT ST. GEORGE, dated 20th February 1662-(63):

"Wee pray you to purchase a couple of GENTUE Barbers, such as are most expert amongst them, in letting Blood, and send them on some of our Shipps for ST. HELLENA, there to remaine for the vse of People on the Island."

At a later date, when probably the Court had been satisfied that GENTUES were not in the market, as they had supposed; we have the following, in a letter to the same address, dated 27th November 1668. This is a small initiation of "Cooly Emigration".

"Wee have now only to desire you to give order into the BAY that they endeavour to procure young GENTUES or ARACANS and their wives to bee sent as our servants to remaine on our Island of ST. HELENA, Wee being very desirous to make tryall of them, suposing they may bee more vsefull and ingenious than those people which come from GUINEA. In the procuring of these 8 persons, wee require that noe violence be used, or any act to give discontent to the Natives, but that they may be such as will willingly embrace our service, And then cause them to bee furnished with convenient necessaries for the voyage, and on each of our 4 ships let one man and his wife take their passage for ST. HELLENA. and order the Comanders to provide some fitting Cabben for their accomodations in the voyage. If there bee any Plants or seeds fitt for the nourishment of man, Wee would have some sent by the next Shipping for ST. HELLENA, and also some Cotton seed."

And nearly thirty years later they write again:

"We may justly feare a want of ENGLISH help at BENCOOLEN which you must supply, as well and as soone as you can, by some of our Country Vessells, sending them such Recruits of Cattell or other things which they last writt for, and also 5 or 6 little Native black boys which speak ENGLISH (of which we understand that there are many at the FFORT) that they may in time learne the MALAY language and become usefull as Interlopers"(!) &ca.

The last word, the copyist's error for *Interpreters*, must have come unconsciously to his pen, after the constant writing on the subject of the pernicious violators of the Company's privileges!

(L)

Sir EDWARD WINTER'S *Proceedings.* (See pp. cclxxvii, *seqq.*, *supra.*)

Extract of "*Commission and Instructions sent to Mr.* NICHOLAS BUCKRIDGE *at the* FORT", dated 16th December 1663.

(The document orders Mr. Buckridge to enquire into certain reports of abuses alleged to have been committed by Sir Edward Winter in his agency at Fort St. George, and thus throws some light on the

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motives of his extraordinary *coup d'état*. One of the articles of charge against him runs as follows):

"Wee are advised that a Gallows was Erected, and BERA TIMANA the Broker, threatened therewith, purposely to force Money from him, wherevpon he paid to the Value of about 15 000*l*. pretended to bee for our Accompt, but as yet noe part thereof in our Bookes, after the payment of which Some, the said BERA TYMANA was readmitted into our Service, that thereby, on our damage, hee might repaire himselfe."

(M.)

Quis custodiat custodes?

Extract from Copy of a Letter from Some one in Office at FORT ST. GEORGE.[1]

"There is one thing more which I shall propose to your worshipps Consideration, whiche in my opinion seemes somewhat Incongruous to the good Government of the Soldiers in the Honble. Companys Fort, vizt., That foure of the Chiefe Officers belonging to the Garison shold be suffered to keepe Punch houses; for by this meanes they that shold see good order kept among the Soldiers, doe for their owne benefitt occasion the greatest disorder."

(N.)

Instruction through the PORTUGUESE *Language.*

From Court Book, 6th July 1670:

"The Court being desirous that the PORTUGUEZES residing in the Island of BOMBAY may be instructed in the Protestant Religion, and that the true Worship of God may be taught and promoted among them: Doe think it fit to declare That if Mr. HUTCHINSON (who is Assistant to Mr. STERLING Minister of that place) shall study the PORTUGALL language, so as to be well understood, there shall be paid him upon Preaching the first Sermon[2] pounds, And an addition of[2] *l*. per Annum to his present establishment, for carrying on that work."

From Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 20th Feby. 1695:

"We have caused the Liturgy of the Church of ENGLAND with the Psalms of DAVID to be translated into the PORTUGUEEZ Language for the use and benefit of the PORTUGUEEZ Inhabitants under our Government in INDIA, which we printed at OXFORD, and herewith you will receive one hundred of them which we hope our Lieutenant General and Councill will give such Direction to Mr. LEWES, That they may be made use of to answer of that generall and extensive Charity which first moved us to this undertaking at our single charge, That so the Gospell and the Protestant Religion may be made known to those poor and Ignorant natives in their own Language; To the Honour of GOD and the Glory of our Church."

See also, in reference to this, extract at p. cxix *supra*.

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[1] O.C. 1683. There is no signature or date. The Office Index puts it at 1645. But I should put it some twenty-five years later.

[2] Blanks in orig.

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(O.)

SLAVES AND SLAVE PURCHASE.

From Court Book, 13th January 1670 (-71):

"RESOLVED, That Twenty Blacks be bought at ST. JAGO, viz., Ten Men and Ten Women: Soe as the price exceed not 12*l*. a head; and that they be transported on the Ships now bound for BANTAM, to be delivered to the Agent and Councel there, for the Companys Service."

FORT ST. GEORGE *to Court*, 21st Sept. 1689:

"Wee are also sending another of your Honours small vessels to the Island of MADAGASCAR, to procure *Cofferyes* for your Garrison and Service at BENCOOLEN, Mr. BENJAMIN BLOOME &ca. being very importunate with us for a large supply of them."

Court to FORT ST. DAVID'S, 6th March 1694 (-5):

"There is no doubt but he, being a poor necessitous rambling Prince, would be ready to serve you in the same manner upon such an occasion, and so would your *Peons* or RASHPOOTS, and therefore you doe wisely advise to the raising a Company of *Cofferies* which would be the truest People and the stoutest Blacks you could trust to in that Place, having no affinity or Relation to the black People of those Countreys nor speaking any of their Languages, and therefore in compleyance with your Notion, we intend by the first ship that goes for ST. HELENA to send you Twenty or Thirty *Cofferies* that have already learned to speak ENGLISH, which is the Language we would have Currant amongst them, and that may easily come so to pass, by having such a foundation of English Blacks to begin your Company with, unto which as you can buy them from the PORTUGUEEZ you may add now and then six or eight, but we would have them bought at the first hand as they come raw from MOSAMBEEK or MUMBAS before they can speak the PORTUGUEEZ Language . . . . and the more different native Languages they are of, we think it may be the better, they must be kept to live in some *compound* by themselves under strict Guardians, when they are not upon Duty, as they are kept at BATAVIA."

From the will of MARY ADDISON, widow of GULSTON ADDISON, made at FORT ST. GEORGE, 18th December 1709.[1]

"I leave and bequeath to my two Slaves CLAYS and RABENA ffourty Pagodas with their and their Childrens liberty; *Item* . . . . to my Slave VENGE ten pagodas and liberty. *Item* . . . . to my Slave DENISSA her liberty, and to her Daughter her liberty and twenty Pagodas."

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[1] In B. M. Egerton MSS. 1971. Gulston Addison was elder brother of the illustrious Joseph. He succeeded Thomas Pitt as Governor at Fort St. George, but died within a month.

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(P.)

Commission from KING CHARLES II.

Letter to "SURRATT," *dated* May 4th, 1683 :

"His Majesty hath required of Us to send to INDIA to provide for him one Male, and two Female Blacks, but they must be Dwarfs, and of the least size that you can procure."

The same commission is sent to Fort St. George, and to Bengal. Commissions to get spotted deer for the King occur several times.

(Q.)

Recapitulation of MUTINIES *in the* COMPANY'S *Settlements.*

From a Report to the King by a Secret Committee at the INDIA *House, in connection with the Revolt at* BOMBAY.

Dated 15 August 1684.

"Wee think it our duty humbly to represent to your Majesty that there hath been 5 mutinies within the limits of the Companys charters since your Majesty was graciously pleas'd to grant them to the Company, one was at FORT ST. GEORGE by S^r: EDWARD WINTER and Captain CHEESMAN, who deposed and imprisoned the then Governor FOXCROFT, and his Second S^r: JEREMY SAMBROOK, one at BOMBAY by the Souldiery, when Mr. GERALD ANGIER (the Earl of LONGFORDS brother) was Governor therof, Three at ST. HELENA, in the first whereof they deposed and sent home the Governor Captain CORRY, In the second they deposed and imprisoned Captain KEGWIN (now made Governor by the Mutineers at BOMBAY), In the third they did not depose or imprison the Governor Captain FIELD, but being a weak man they made him sign and doe whatever they pleas'd." . . .

(R.)

The Duty of a Soldier in Intrenchment-work.

Court's Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE, 24th Jany. 1685(-6) :

"In the expectation of our fortifications at CHYTTEGAM, wee doe much depend upon the prudence of our said Vice Admirall and all our Captains of Sea and Land forces, that they will by perswasion, their own example, and some little rewards, in Rack or otherwise, encourage all our Seamen and Soldiers to work hard upon our fortifications, untill they are finished, for untill a City or an army be intrenched, out of danger of the Enemy, no man ought to think himself too good, to give his helping hand, to make all sure, although after the danger is over, such worke is only propper for Pioneers, or such as you call *Cooleys*."

(S.)

A vain charge condemned.

From a Letter to the FORT of 22nd October 1686 :

"The Tygar you Keep at the expence of a Goat a day, besides attendance, we looke upon as a superfluous vain Charge, let all such needless expences, within doors and without, be pared off, while you see we are engaged in so many greater disbursements for the publick good."

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(T.)

Condemnation of new fangled Goods and Names.

Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE of 28th Septr. 1687 :

"All your *Betteless*, *Podavets*, *Cummum*, *Gulcondah*, *Oringall*, *Rowalue*, and *Gungpores* are a meer cheat upon us and not worth half their cost per invoice, which obligeth us to warne our President and every one of you in our Councill to have an especiall care of goods that come to you by new names." . . .

* * * * * * *

"Our design in the whole is to set up the DUTCH Government among the ENGLISH-INDIA . . . (but) We will alwaies observe our owne old English termes: *Vizt:* Attorney Generall instead of *Fiscall*, Alldermen instead of *Scepin;* Burgesses instead of *Burgers*, Serjants instead of *Balus*, President and Agent instead of *Commandore*, *Directore*, or *Commissaries*" (Commissarius), "&ca."

(U.)

Qui s'excuse s'accuse.

From a Letter to FORT ST. GEORGE of August 12th, 1687:

"Thro' the almost irresistable importunity of friends, we have sent you more Writers and Factors then we can apprehend you should have present occasion to make use of, but if you observe our orders in expelling from our service such as misbehave themselves, and keep the rest exercised in armes, as our Artillery men in LONDON are, at leisure times, when you have no proper writeing work to set them about, they will upon a need be some additionall weight to the ballance of your ENGLISH power, and the charge of such supernumeraries more supportable to us, but however we intend to forbear sending you any more then we have allready promised untill we understand from yourselves that you have more need of them."

(V.)

How Tea should be Packed.

From Court's "Instructions to WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Esquire, Supracargo of the Ship* Wentworth *bound for* CANTON *in* CHINA *and Mr.* JOHN HILLER *Merchant his Assistant." Dated* 10th Nov. 1699.

"10. Tea is a Commodity of that generall use here, and so nicely to be managed is its Package to preserve its flavour and vertue, that you cant bee too careful in putting it up. Take speciall care therefore it be well closed in *Tootenague*, then wrapt up in Leaves and so put up in good Tubs of dry well-season'd Wood, made tite and close enough to preserve it from all manner of Scents, which it is very Subject to imbibe, and thereby become of no Value here. But you must be sure that the wood of your tubs have no Scent, whether sweet or unsavoury, that will Spoil the Tea, So will Camphire and other strong Scented Commodityes, wherefore no such Smell must come into the Ship : For the like reason put up no Tea in Potts or Tootenague, till the smell of the Soldering Oyl or other like smells be perfectly cured, Be sure the Tea you buy be very new and the best of its sort, Remembering that in this and every other Commodity, the worst pays as much freight as the best, and many times the same Custom. Keep the Tea in the coolest places of the Ship, for otherwise the greatest Care in its Choice and package will be rendered ineffectuall, and therefore what is put in the Hold open the Hatches in fair Weather to give it air as often as you have Opportunity. But you will see by the Captain's Instructions We have required

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that our Tea be stow'd between Decks abaft the after hatchway with a bulk head and a little gang way made for Passage, which do you see done accordingly. It being now peace, We being resolv'd to dispense with our old order in this particular of stowing no Goods between Decks, when so great an advantage will accrue, as the preserving the Tea, a very considerable Article in the profit or Loss of the Cargo."

(W.)

Reception of Firmán and Dress of Honour from the GREAT MOGUL, *at* BOMBAY, January 1717-18.

Bombay Consultation, 24th January 1717-18.

"Everything being prepared for the *Goorseburdar's*[1] reception in as Suitable a manner as the Short time wee had would permitt, he this morning came down from MAHIM, attended by Messrs: MARK ANTHONY CROMMELIN[2] and JNO: HORNE in Pallankeens, Thirty Soldiers and a Lieutenant with the Black Merchants of BOMBAY, a Company of Sepoys[3] with the Colours, Trumpets, and Countrey Musick, and by them Conducted to the new Bunder, where were drawn up at the Gate a Detachment of Garrison Soldiers three deep, in the Square of which was erected a Pavilion lined with Imboss'd Perpets,[4] and adorned with other Embelishments, and in the West end of the same, on a small Eminence made, was placed the President's Chair of State (the whole being Covered with Carpets). When the Masters of the Ceremonies had Introduced him there they returned to the Fort to signifie the Same to the President, from whence he Immediately sett out to receive the *Seerpaw*[5] in the manner Following:

(Detail of Procession.)

Wednesday 29th January 1717-18.

* * * * * * *

"This day about three in the afternoon, the President set forward from the Castle to the Bunder to receive from Capt. CHARLES BODDAM the original *Phirmaunds* for the Presidency in the Following order. The Captain bringing them from the Ship was saluted with severall pieces of Cannon, which was followed by all the Ships in the road:

---

[1] *Gurz-bardár*, P., a mace-bearer.

[2] Marc Antoine Crommelin, of Huguenot family, entered the Company's service at Bombay; and his descendants have been prominent in the Indian services in every generation since. His son Charles was Governor of Bombay (1760-67), his grandson Charles Russell Crommelin was Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal (1799), and his great-great-grandson, Lieut.-General W.A. Crommelin, C.B., was a distinguished officer of Engineers, who died 1886.

[3] This is an occurrence of the word *Sepoy*, in its modern signification, thirty years earlier than any that I had been able to find when publishing the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. I have one a year earlier, and expect now to find it earlier still.

[4] *Perpetuanos*, a kind of glossy fabric of wool, much exported to the East from Europe in those days.

[5] *Sar-o-pá*, literally cap-à-pie; a dress of Honour, or series of presents partaking of that character.

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"1. Fifty Sepoys (and their officers) with Colours and Trumpets, 4 aBreast.

"2. Sixteen of the Government Sepoys in Liveries, with an officer, two and two.

"3. Four State horses Single, each Led by two Servants in Livery.

"4. Sixteen of the Government Sepoys as before.

"5. The Chariott of State with a pair of Horses, with a Servant in Livery on each Side.

"6. The Companys *Purvoes*[1] two a Breast.

"7. The Black Merchants, two and two on Foot.

"8. Fifty Grenadiers with their officers, Four a Breast.

"9. The Companys Junior Servants on foot, with half Pikes, two and two, the youngest first, but Led by the Eldest.

"10. Twelve of the Companys Covenant Servants on Horseback, the Juniors first, two and two, with their Swords drawn, led by Messrs. PHILLIPS and HORNE, the English Standard carried in the Centre by Mr. STYLES.

"11. The Government Factors, Free Merchants, Comodore and Europe Commanders in Pallankeens, with their Servants, two and two, proceeding according to their Station.

"12. Two Masters of the Ceremonies on Horseback, with two Servants each.

"13. The Councill in Pallankeens, with their Servants two and two, the youngest first.

"14. The advance Guard of Four Troopers with Swords drawn, two and two.

"15. The Government Sepoys in Liveries, two and two.

"16. Four *Chubdars*.[2]

"17. The Marshall.

"18. The GOVERNOUR[3] in his Pallakeen with four Pages of Honour, two on each sides bare, in Atlass Coats.

"19. The Troop of Horse.

"20. Fifty Sepoys.

"The Granadiers drawing up in the Bunder, and the Companys Servants on Horseback and Troopers at the gate, the President passed thrô in his Pallakeen, the Gentlemen of Councill entring before on Foot, and alight at the Sea Gate, and in the Arch thereof received the *Phirmaund* from Captain BODDAM in a *Bandaye*[4] couered with a rich piece of Atlass, lifting the same to his head, when the President seated himself in his Chair of State, and Causing the *Phirmaunds* to be placed before him on a velvet stool, the Gentlemen of the Councill Sitting on each side of him, and the rest of them in order within the Gateway, the *Goorseburdar* fronting him, he drank his INDOSTAN Majesty's health, and Prosperity to the affairs of the Right Honble: Company, under a Discharge of small arms and Artillery from the Castle and Ships in the Road, and then Returned in like manner as he came, concluding the Night with an Entertainment to all the principall English inhabitants."

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[1] A word used in Western India honorifically for a native writer; Sanskrit, *prabhu*, a lord or chief.

[2] Silver-sticks; literally "stick-bearers."

[3] Charles Boone.

[4] Port. *Bandeja*, a kind of tray.

END OF VOL. II.

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